



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL



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CANTERBURY FROM THE NORTH-WEST

Photograph]



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

BY

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Illustrations in Line are by the Author

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CORRIGENDA

- Page 33, line 6 from end, p. 34, line 2, for "south-east" read
"north-east."
- p. 56, l. 8 from end, for "Spain" read "Sicily."
- p. 102, l. 3 from end, place "all or" after the word "crosier."
- p. 103, l. 7 from end, for "tower of the arch" read "arch of the
tower."
- p. 130, l. 1, for "Tom" read "Toma."
- p. 135, l. 7, for "Goff Squire" read "Gough Square."
- p. 147, l. 10, for "Posanne" read "Posaune."
- p. 170, l. 6, for "stype" read "slype."
- p. 174, l. 10, for "Meiste" read "Meister."
- p. 208, middle, "his will" i.e. King John's; "he propounded,"
i.e. Langton.
- p. 218, l. 4, for "Trinity" read "Corpus Christi."
- p. 234, l. 19, for "Archaeological" read "Archaeologia."

PREFACE

The intention of this book has been to provide a compendious work upon the Cathedral which may be of use to the ordinary visitor and also to those who like to go a little more deeply into the why and wherefore of what they see. It is only too true that people do not get more out of a building or anything else than they put into it, and more especially is this so in the case of a Cathedral with so long and varied a history. Without at least a modicum of knowledge about the elements of architecture and kindred subjects, Canterbury is practically a sealed book to a visitor, who will, as the result of his pilgrimage, carry away little more than a vague impression of the size of the building, and the length of the longest organ stop ! If this book can in any way avert such a waste of opportunity and help the reader to grasp the intense fascination and interest of the place, it will not have been written in vain.

One point of explanation. Few technical words have been used, and the periods of architecture referred to at intervals in the text are those denoting the usual dates, viz. : Norman, 1070-1160 ;

Early English, 1190-1272; Decorated, 1300-1377; Perpendicular and Tudor, 1380-1547. It must, however, be clearly understood that there are no hard and fast compartments, but that there were always transitional periods where one style overlapped and ran into another—of which there is no better example than Canterbury!

It remains for the writer to express his grateful thanks to the Dean and Chapter for their kind permission to reproduce the glass in colour as well as the other photographs and drawings; to the Ven. the Archdeacon for kindly allowing the Norman window in his house to be drawn and reproduced, to Canon A. J. Mason, D.D., and Chas. Cotton, Esq., F.R.C.P., for generous help and interest, especially in matters connected with the Library, to Messrs. McClemmens and Hodgkin, the vesturers, and the four vergers, or as they should strictly be called according to Statute, Bellringers, and others on the Cathedral staff for unending and ungrudging assistance and information at all times, without which this effort would not be even what it is; to Mr. S. Caldwell, the stained glass expert, for useful information upon his department; to Mr. H. T. Mead, the Public Librarian, for the generous loan of books from his private library, and willing aid in many ways including the use of his photograph of Vertue's engraving of the waterworks for reproduction;

and to the Rev. H. C. B. Foyster, M.A., for kindly taking over the dull work of proof reading. For the rest it has been impossible to do more than just mention occasionally in the text the more important authors consulted, but a large majority of those in the Bibliography, especially Messrs. Woodruff and Danks, have been laid under heavy contribution, and this the present writer gratefully and willingly acknowledges.

S. A. W.

1922.

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CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER I

AS the late Mr. G. F. Bodley has said, “Age does not stale the effects that these great works produce on the mind,” and in no case can they be applied more truly than to that of Canterbury. The pilgrim who comes, however often, to the crest of the hill, be it on the west at Harbledown or on the east by St. Martin’s Church, will always be struck by the calm beauty of the view spread out before him—the houses in the broad flat valley clustering round the mighty fane which towers above them all in motherly fashion. Only at these distances does the Cathedral reveal its full proportions, for, if the traveller descend the hill and come to close quarters, he will find the city houses pressing too closely, continental fashion, round the church to allow of a comprehensive prospect. Two other points of view are worth bearing in mind, one from near the church of St. Stephen, Hackington, where, with the aid of the always picturesque Scotch fir, a delightful picture can be seen in the late afternoon, the other a short distance along the back road to Sturry leading out of the Hackington road, whence the Cathedral makes no picture but gives the best and clearest idea of its immense length. All of these view-points are near at hand in the outskirts

of the city and should be visited if time permits, as much for the local objects of interest, which the first three possess, as for the *coups d'œil* of the Cathedral which they provide.

In its details, no less than in its general view, the Cathedral is a mine of interest. Much of that interest, indeed a very large part, is due to what at the time of their occurrence men thought to be catastrophes. What eye-witness of the terribly complete destruction wrought by the fire of 1067 could see Lanfranc's nobler church rising from the ashes? Who was to say as they saw in 1174 "the black smoke and scorching flames" pervading that glorious quire "so magnificently completed by the care and industry of Prior Conrad," and as "they tore their hair and beat the walls and pavement of the church with their heads and hands" in their grief and perplexity at "the just but occult judgment of God," who was to say that this was but the means to a yet more magnificent building? Again, as the ghastly deed was being perpetrated on that December evening in the northern transept, and men saw him whom they accounted the defender of the people and their bulwark against the oppression of king and barons being done to death, who was to realize that in the apparent disaster of his passing lay an influence powerful far beyond any that Becket had wielded even in the hey-day of his strength? As Mrs. van Rensselaer has truly said, "Nowhere is a Saint's dominion so plainly petrified as at Canterbury," and undoubtedly his martyrdom exerted an influence on the building at least as great as did the designing

architects themselves, while, over and beyond all that, must be remembered the extraordinary celebrity, the world-wide fame, bringing in their train riches immeasurable and a power and force to the church all of which are reflected in the wonderful pile before us.

What then has been the result of the "many combustions betiding the Fabrick" as old Somner quaintly has it? A Cathedral which, in respect at any rate of its eastern half, has an interest second to none, which, by its fragments of earlier and half destroyed buildings blended together with later work, has an all-absorbing fascination for the student of the builder's art and which with its irregular plan gives so marvellous a play of light and shadow as cannot fail but to charm the eye of every artist. Furthermore the fact that there seems scarcely anything straight gives the Cathedral a curious sense of originality. As in so many churches so here the quire and especially the Trinity Chapel bend over to the south, but, besides that, the internal engaged piers of the western towers are not in true line by a foot or more with the nave arcading, the Deans' and the Buffs' Chapels spread outwards north and south from the quire aisles, the eastern transept towers in base are not square with the quire walls although they become so towards the top, and the two towers or chapels of St. Andrew and St. Anselm nip in the quire in unexpected fashion. Such odd curiosities in building lend an added charm to an already attractive church, reminding us, as they do, of the life to be found in the art of man's

handiwork as compared with the soulless and uniform production of a machine.

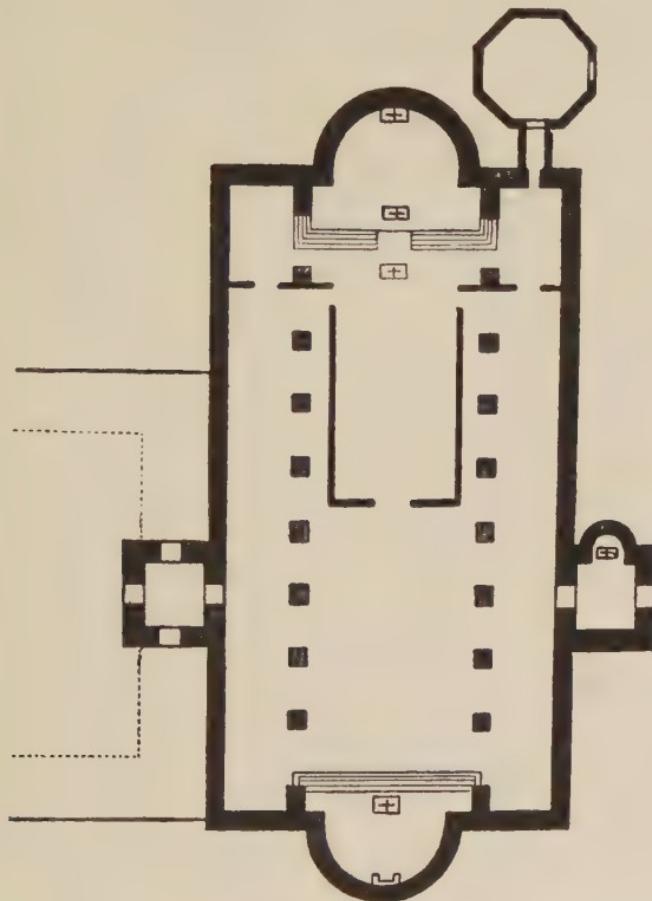
The puzzles also and the conundrums, which this *mélange* of buildings inevitably presents, are a continually delightful challenge to man's natural instinct to try to "know for certain" the reason for that to which there is no obvious answer. The opening of tombs, the discovery of ancient documents, the digging out of foundations, and the patient research of experts, have all helped to "lay" many a ghost, but there will always remain here enough of the inexplicable to tease and tickle the imagination.

Before examining further the existing church, the earlier buildings, of which it is the lineal descendant, must first be called to mind.

To St. Augustine and his companions, on that fateful day in 597 when they reached the brow of the hill on their way from Ebbsfleet, a very different view presented itself. A few humble dwellings, King Ethelbert's so-called palace, and the ruins hardly to be distinguished so far away of the old Roman-British church which he was to "recover" to its original purpose lying amid the swamps and branch-streams of the River Stour was all that they would see.

Of this very ancient church, at least two hundred years old when St. Augustine set eyes upon it, a good description has been given c.1100 by Eadmer the singer. As might be expected it was planned upon the lines of the Roman basilica,

or law court, as were all the early churches in Rome and elsewhere, but it has been suggested that originally there was only the usual western apse



THE SAXON CATHEDRAL (WILLIS)

and that the eastern apse was added later to meet the increasing needs of the monastery. Eadmer says that the great altar built "of rough stones and mortar was close to the wall at the eastern part

of the presbytery" and that afterwards another altar was placed at a convenient distance, "before the aforesaid altar and dedicated in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ," containing the head of St. Swithun and used for the daily celebrations—hence its name of the "Matutinal" altar. The whole of this apse was raised high and approached by steps in the middle of which in front was the descent into the "confessio" or crypt, after the existing fashion in St. Peter's at Rome and other churches. The quire stretched westward into the nave separated from the people by low cancelli or screens. The western apse similarly raised, but with no crypt beneath, contained at the extreme west end the archbishop's "cathedra" or chair in front of which was placed the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Leading off from the aisles were two towers. That on the south, dedicated to Pope Gregory, wherein much legal and other secular business was transacted, may have contained the "Suthdure" or principal entrance to the church, but Eadmer's wording is not clear—however Willis evidently understood it in that way. That on the north dedicated to St. Martin was used for the education of the younger monks and gave on to the surrounding cloisters. At the east end Archbishop Cuthbert, c.750, built a separate baptistery dedicated to St. John the Baptist in similar fashion to those seen at Pisa, Florence, St. John Lateran at Rome, and many other places to-day. The object of this baptistery was not solely for that of baptisms but also to be a burial place for the archbishops, permission for

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

which Cuthbert had obtained from the Pope. Up to that time, in accordance with the old Roman hygienic custom, all burials had taken place outside the city in the Abbey of St. Augustine, to the great gain of the latter from the point of view of relics and visitors thereto.

From the arrangement of this early church it will be seen that originally the only altar (which afterwards became that of the people) was at the west end in accordance with custom, so that at a celebration the priest faced east and the people west. The analogy between this and the regular custom all through the ages of burials with the feet to the east so that the altar placed at the head of any specially venerated saint would come at the west end of his shrine will at once spring to the mind. In the case of Canterbury a very good example is to be found in the shrine of St. Thomas which had an altar at its head or western end. (See pp. 58, 118 and illus.)

Some two hundred years later Archbishop Odo found himself committed to extensive repairs to the roof. He took the opportunity at the same time of heightening the walls and by some is even thought to have rebuilt the church. The pleasing little legend is recorded that at his prayer, in order that the services might not be interrupted nor the building damaged by the weather, no rain fell upon the area covered by the temporarily roofless church by the space of three years although the rest of the land round about received its normal share of wet and storm. In 1011 the Danes in their ravages sacked Canterbury, fired the Cathedral,

and murdered the good archbishop, Alphege. His body was afterwards brought back for burial and the Cathedral restored by Canute, who offered his gold crown to be hung on the Rood by way of reparation for the deeds of his fellow-countrymen.

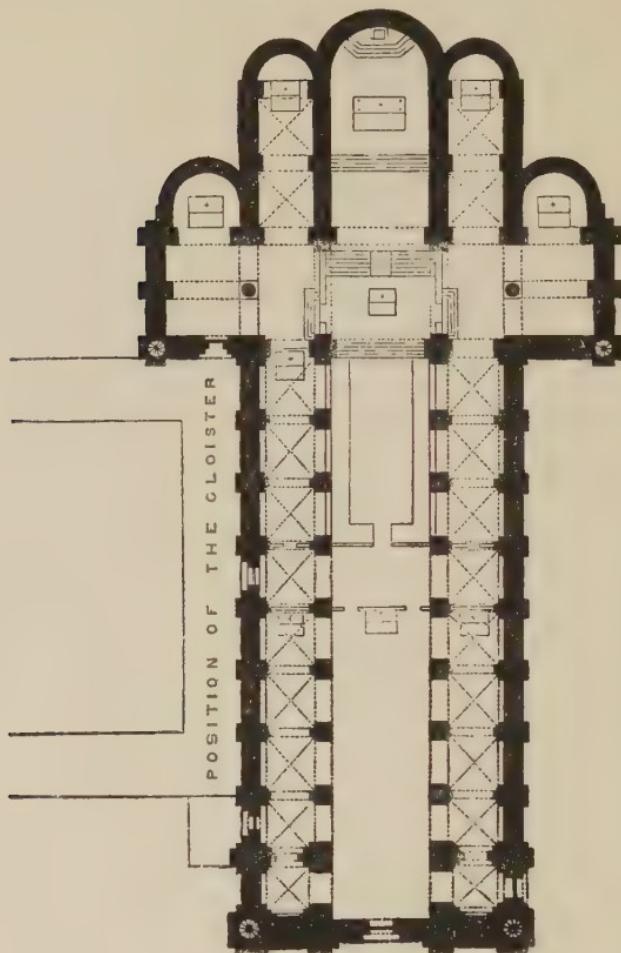
Fifty-six years later fire, the arch-enemy of Canterbury, again swept over the church, this time causing complete destruction not only of the building but also of all the muniments and the monastic buildings except the monks' refectory, their dormitory, and part of the cloisters which may, or may not, be traceable to-day. A curious coincidence, as Messrs. Woodruff and Danks point out, is that the end of this Cathedral came almost simultaneously with that of the Saxon dynasty. Of this building the extreme west wall of the crypt is thought with some probability to be a remnant.

To Stigand, the last of the Anglo-Saxon archbishops, it was not given to rebuild his Cathedral. Dispossessed, on account of his anti-Norman attitude, of his bishopric of Winchester as well as of his archbishopric which he had held in common, his place was filled in 1070 by the strong and able Lanfranc. This energetic man wrought a complete and rapid change in everything connected with Canterbury. Not only did he raze to the ground the old edifice and re-erect a larger and finer church but he rebuilt the monastic quarters, remains of which we see to-day, and peopled them with a hundred and fifty monks, all in the marvellously short space of seven years. Up to this time, although monks had served the church, monastic ideals and rules of life had taken

no set form and this side of religion had not been greatly pressed. Secular clerks seem to have been on the staff, and when early in the ninth century a plague carried off all the monks but five the former naturally preponderated. Matters were reversed under Aelfric to whom seculars were anathema, they were ejected and their places taken by nominal Benedictines. It remained, however, for Lanfranc, the sometime Abbot of Caen, and accustomed to enforce discipline and obedience, to reorganize Aelfric's monastery, and this he did by laying down elaborate rules and regulations addressed to the Benedictines in England in general and his own monks of Christ Church in particular. An interesting point lies in the fact that hitherto the head of the Monastery had always been called a "Dean," as was the case at Worcester, St. Edmundsbury, and one or two other monasteries. Henceforward Dean Henry was now to be known as Prior Henry with no difference, however, to the power he was entitled to wield.

Of Lanfranc's Cathedral a good deal more remains than might at first be supposed, although much of it is hidden from view. Gervase the monk tells us that there was a central tower capped by a spire with a winged creature on the top from which it gained its name of the "Angel Steeple" and a nave of eight bays with two western towers. In the two easternmost bays of the north aisle of the nave was the Lady Chapel. The central tower was flanked by two transepts, each of which had an open upper floor or gallery supported by a

pillar in line with the walls of the aisles, i.e. this arrangement had the effect of turning the ground



LANFRANC'S CATHEDRAL (G. G. SCOTT)

floor of the transept into a large chamber with two arched entrances from the church. A similar scheme may be seen at Winchester except that there

the whole area of the transept is not so floored over but only the outermost bay. Gervase says he can give no description of the quire or sanctuary because, before his day, it had been pulled down by Anselm as will presently appear, but Willis conjectured that it stretched for two bays east of the crossing with the monks' quire extending down to about the middle of the nave where the rood screen was placed. How correct Willis was will be shown later on (p. 88). The rood screen was moved by Ernulph to beneath the western arch of the tower because with his addition eastwards the monks had then no need to overflow, as it were, into the nave.

What then is left of Lanfranc's church to-day? Firstly, the core of the four sustaining piers of the central tower. It can actually be seen in the angle on the eastern face of the two eastern piers and high up on the north-west pier from the martyrdom side there is a slit where the outer casing, removed for "grouting" the core within for strengthening purposes, has revealed an original Norman shaft with cushion capital, thus definitely settling what has always been a generally received opinion. Secondly, in the north-west transept the north-west angle turret is Norman work with very rough wide jointed masonry and a plentiful use of tufa in the walls of the staircase inside, such as may be seen on the inner exposed wall of the monks' dormitory. This turret with a string course at about half-way goes up almost to the very top, the junction with the Perpendicular work being very clear by the manipulation of the top window

mouldings. The plinth also at the south-east corner, i.e. below Dr. Chapman's monument and round the corner towards the crypt, is clearly of similar date. Externally, this transept shows, if we may judge from the masonry over the entrance from the cloister, more in the lower part of the north wall up to the sill of the great window and at the north-east corner, together with the two flat buttresses at the north-west and south-west angles going up practically to the top, how much of Lanfranc's work here survives. Thirdly, in the south-west tower, in the story on a level with the top of the nave aisle vault, practically all the north part of the west, and the eastern face of the east walls are all Norman. Fourthly, the whole strip of wall running down by the north side of the great west window of the nave is Lanfranc's with merely a skin of modern stone. At the rebuilding of the north-west tower in the nineteenth century this part was left in order to hold up the window during the rebuilding. Fifthly, outside on the south-east corner of the south-west transept, at the angle between the big south buttress and St. Michael's Chapel, can be seen the remains of the corner buttresses of Lanfranc's transept. In all probability the core of the lower part of the walls here is also of that early date, but, if so, it is all faced over and not to be seen. Sixthly, in the crypt there are the foundations of the apsidal ends of Lanfranc's quire crypt. Seventhly, there is the hotly-debated question of the wall plinth of the nave together with the wall of the north aisle, on the cloister side at any rate,

which Professor Willis was inclined to think was Norman. That the lower parts of the nave walls are of Norman material cannot be denied, but it is more probable that it is old masonry re-used in later times (see under "Mason marks," p. 148). Finally, it will be remembered that Lanfranc's impress remains, even where his work is gone, in that both nave and transepts are undoubtedly on the actual lines of his earlier church to say nothing of the raising of the quire which was done also by him as carrying on the tradition of the still earlier "confessio."

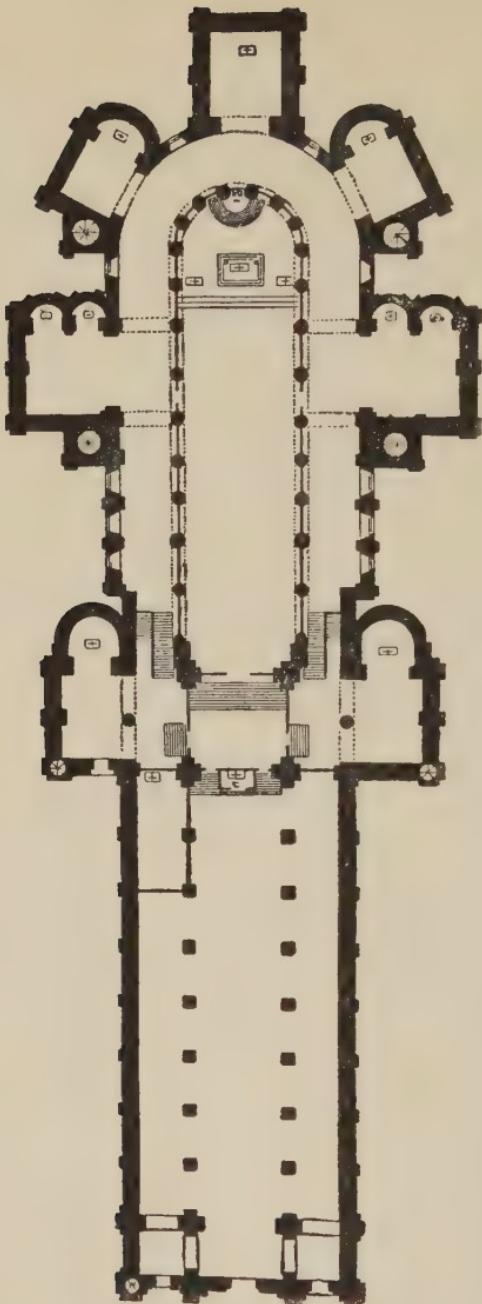
Within a very short time, however, Lanfranc's church was altered. Everything east of the central tower and transepts was pulled down and a new quire, the so-called "glorious" quire of Conrad, was built in its place. The reason for this extensive reconstruction of so new a building has not been definitely decided, but one or two explanations may be offered. Willis pointed out that there is no record of any further fire or other trouble in connexion with the Cathedral and thought therefore that, as the relics and tombs of saints were gradually increasing, it was simply a case of more space being required in which to house them. Francis Bond admits that this may be partly true but is inclined to attribute the change to the need of more altars at which the now larger number of monks might have an opportunity of saying their masses. But it must be borne in mind that this larger number was introduced by Lanfranc himself, who would have been fully aware of their requirements and it is

hardly to be thought that he would have built what he did had he not thought that it would be sufficient. At no time had the actual seating of the monks during the quire offices presented any difficulty because, as was usual in all ancient churches and as indeed has been already mentioned, the quire seats were always put to westward into the nave as can be well seen for example in the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome to-day. Indeed, originally, there never was a quire at all in the modern sense of the word. Two other reasons may also be suggested for the alteration. It is possible that, with the gradual settlement of the kingdom, the erection of a fine Cathedral and the personality of Lanfranc, Canterbury was rapidly increasing in size and importance. This would mean larger lay congregations for whom, owing to the presence of so many monks in the nave, accommodation may gradually have become insufficient. Thus the monks would tend, as it were, to be pushed to the eastward. Finally, it must not be forgotten that all the building both of church and monastery took place within seven short years; is it unreasonable to guess that the eastern end may soon have begun to show signs of this hurried workmanship? Norman buildings look, and often are, the embodiment of strength and solidity, but the stone facings enclose but rubble cores which, if not cemented together carefully, will not stand heavy stress and strain. Here was very rapid building on the usual marshy foundation, may not the scanty time have meant slipshod work?

We have the example of Winchester's Norman tower before us which within a few years collapsed, not, as the old chroniclers would have us believe, because the impious William Rufus was buried beneath it, but because of indifferent workmanship.

Whatever the cause may have been, suffice it that Ernulph, who had come over in the train of Lanfranc and become Prior in 1096, was put by Anselm in charge of the new work. Aided by funds from his archbishop's manor of Peckham and other sources he proceeded to pull down the *priorem partem Ecclesie* or eastern end and erect a quire and presbytery on a scale which just about doubled the area of the Cathedral.

Canterbury is most fortunate in having had so careful a chronicler as Gervase the monk, who has left for us a full description of this quire and minuter details still as to the later work of William of Sens during whose time he wrote. Seldom are early writers to be relied upon either for accuracy or detail and therefore it is all the more a matter for satisfaction to find this monk a brilliant exception, for modern research has tested his information again and again only to find continual proofs of his reliability. Gervase then gives us a good account of this quire of Ernulph which, as may be seen from the accompanying plan, was very largely in form what we see to-day, with the exception that the Trinity Chapel was a rectangular building on the site of the present portion of the Cathedral bearing the same name. Eight feet wider than that of Lanfranc this quire was provided with a passage or kind of triforium



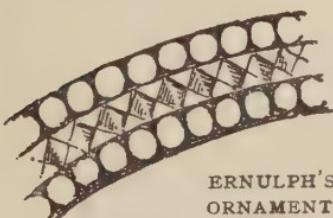
ERNULPH'S ADDITION (WILLIS)

in its clerestory. In the apse or presbytery behind the high altar was the archbishop's seat on a raised semicircle and, immediately above the eastern face of the altar, a beam ran across supported on pillars which was the precursor of the later reredos. The crypt below which corresponded with the area above was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Interesting features of this new work are the additional eastern transepts with double apses, which are paralleled at Lincoln, Rochester, Salisbury, and Worcester, while the two towers of

St. Andrew and St. Anselm (the latter originally dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul) so curiously set on the curve of the apse are, Mr. Bond thinks, very probably features borrowed from Cluny because they appear also at Lewes, the chief Cluniac foundations in England. Why they should be called towers is to-day something of a mystery. In Eadwine's drawing of the water works, c. 1165, they seem to be represented with two tall towers, but as he shows the eastern transepts without their present attendant towers it is possible that he may have transposed them by mistake. That these buildings may have been higher at one time is quite possible, for in the "watching chamber" of St. Anselm the tops of the walls certainly are rough and uneven as though they were either unfinished or had been at some time lowered.

Of Ernulph's work a fair amount remains as follows: (1) Most of the lower walls of the quire aisles and up to the present triforium level of the eastern transepts, together with the arch heads of the quire aisle windows and the low wall arcading except where repaired by William of Sens—the difference being at once apparent between the

poor undistinguished looking pillar bases of Ernulph and the boldly cut and hollowed examples of the succeeding builder; as also between the simple cushion capitals of the former and



ERNULPH'S
ORNAMENT

the stiff leafed foliage capitals of the latter. (2) Any part ornamented with diamond, or diamond and

circle ornament cut with the axe. (3) Any shafts to carry the vaulting which are built up with small stones, as opposed to large single ones in each course which are later work. (4) The two chapels or towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm although in the latter chapel the two arches have been reset and narrowed afterwards. (5) The whole of the crypt under the quire. (6) The south-east and north-east portions of the eastern piers of the central tower, as also the pieces of walling projecting at the west end of the aisles which are built on Lanfranc's foundations.

One word upon the man who was responsible for all this. Ernulph in 1107 became Abbot of Peterborough and was succeeded as Prior by Conrad. It is the fashion to talk there of "Conrad's glorious quire" chiefly because he was responsible for the mural decoration, the fittings and general completion of the work, but it was Ernulph who had done all the actual building before he left. Seeing then how great and important was the work of Ernulph, though perhaps in a way less showy, it seems scarcely fair that Conrad's name should be associated so closely and continually with this quire to the exclusion of the talented architect and designer.

By May, 1130, everything was ready, and in that year Archbishop William de Corbeuil dedicated the church with much magnificence in the presence of a brilliant and numerous assemblage, including King Henry I, David King of Scotland, and many bishops, both English and foreign, which moved Gervase to say ecstatically that "so famous a

dedication has never been heard of on earth since the dedication of the temple of Solomon!"

But alas for human vanity! only forty-four years later the old enemy once more reappeared as the result of some burning cottages in Burgate Street, and, amid their cries and lamentations, nay even their blasphemies, the people saw the flames devouring the fair work in which they took so much pride. This disastrous fire of 1174 demolished practically the whole of the quire except the side walls which were more or less protected by the lower vaulting of the aisles, so that as Gervase says, "the house of God hitherto delightful as a paradise of pleasures was now made a despicable heap of ashes."

Between the famous dedication and the destructive fire, various buildings and works in connexion with the monastery were put in hand which will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to that part; it will be sufficient for the moment to make a passing reference here to the Treasury which was built on to the north side of St. Andrew's Tower, c. 1150-5. Originally called the "Vestiarium," it was the strong room of the Cathedral where were kept the jewels, the plate, and all other valuables. Both inside and out it is a most beautiful late Norman building and is well seen from the pathway leading round on the west side of the Cathedral.

And so we come to the work of William of Sens and the eastern part of the Cathedral as it stands to-day. Stunned by the catastrophe, the monks for some time could not bring themselves to make

a move toward repairing the disaster, and so great was their attachment to Ernulph and Conrad's work that they hoped against hope to be able to restore what had been rather than to rebuild anew. Ultimately they called in advice, and, from among the many candidates, they chose one William of Sens from whom they asked for a report upon the ruins. This man no doubt had worked upon the French Cathedral, but could hardly have been its designer because in 1130 when it was begun he would have been too young to be in charge, as he is said to have been not much over middle age when here. As perhaps might be expected, it was to the effect that it would be best to begin afresh, and sorely against their will the order was given to him to proceed. It has already been pointed out, as a matter of fact, that William was able, on the instructions of the monks, to preserve quite an appreciable amount of Ernulph's building, but of course the greater portion of the work had to be entirely redesigned and rebuilt. That "the lively genius and good reputation" of William did not fail the monks in their distress will be apparent to every visitor, but to some it may well be that this transitional work with its white columns picked out with darker and thinner Purbeck marble shafts, the somewhat fidgety yet stiff ornamentation of its capitals and restless mixture of round and pointed arches will seem to lack the quiet dignity and repose of simpler work. Aesthetically, the "birth pangs" of Gothic may not always make a strong appeal, but, architecturally, the evidences here of the gradual change

from round to pointed, from axe to chisel, are of fascinating interest, and, from whatever point it may be viewed, that William of Sens produced a magnificent example of the builder's art none will be found to deny.

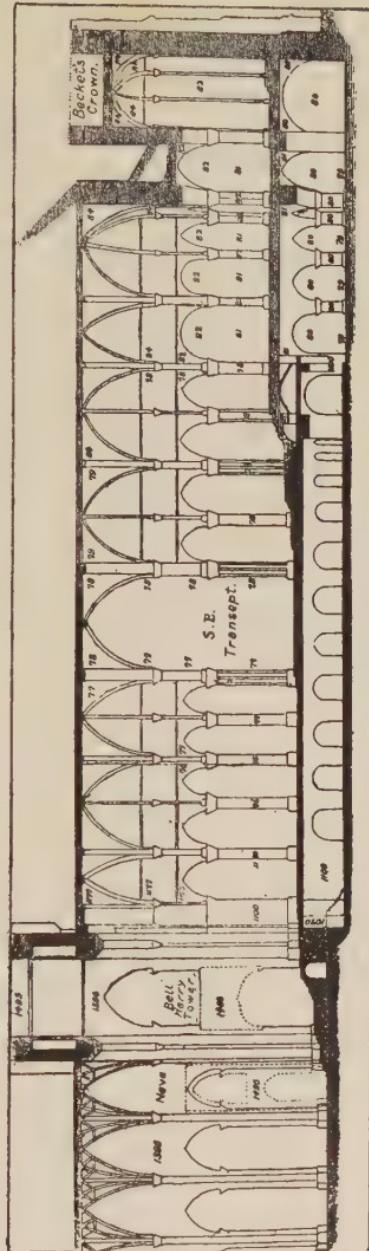
Thanks to the faithfully recording Gervase, a full account exists of the new work—so full indeed that it is possible to date every pillar in the quire, and thus the very stones seem to have an added and vivid interest to those who look upon them. On September 6, 1175, William started to build and by the end of the first year's working had put up the two westernmost bays of the quire and so worked onwards until by 1178 he had erected ten pillars on either side with arches, aisle vaults, triforia, and clerestories over them. On September 13th of this last year occurred an eclipse of the sun which in the ignorance of those days was mysteriously connected with the tragedy which was so soon to happen; for a week or so later while superintending the arrangements for the main vault, the scaffolding upon which William was standing suddenly gave way, hurling him down some fifty feet to the ground amid a shower of stones. He escaped indeed with his life, but was so seriously injured that it was with difficulty that he could remain to complete the main vault over the crossing of the eastern transepts. Feeling that his case was hopeless he reluctantly gave up and returned home to France. The vacant post was then given to a namesake, called by way of distinction William the Englishman, a man "small in body but in workmanship of many kinds acute

and honest." There was thus no interruption in the progress of the work, and by the next year the main and transept vaultings over the work of William of Sens were duly completed. That the whole work including the enlargement to the east with the new Trinity Chapel and Becket's Crown had been more or less planned out by the Frenchman seems practically certain, but at the same time it will be noticed as we go along how the second William introduced his own ideas into the original design.

In 1180 Easter Day was joyfully celebrated in the new quire, and during the year the eastern extension was continued round the existing chapel of St. Thomas in the crypt, the tomb of the saint being temporarily protected. Four years later (there had been no building during 1183 from lack of funds) the mighty work was practically finished and the wonderful story of Gervase abruptly ends. A glance at the accompanying elevation of Willis, dated according to the account of Gervase, will give a clearer idea than any verbal description of how the building progressed from year to year.

Antiquaries and architects of more recent days have been at pains to prove that the general idea of Gothic having been introduced into England from France is not entirely correct. Mr. J. H. Parker, the protagonist of the theory, has pointed out that, while during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries foreign monks became English bishops, from the middle of the twelfth up to the early thirteenth centuries on the other hand Englishmen were becoming French bishops and

introducing, as at Laon Cathedral for example, such features as the typically English square east end in place of the normal apse. In the case of Canterbury Mr. Parker sees much to support his theory. He lays it down that while William of Sens "kept up the purely Norman style as the character of the new building," William the Englishman, especially in his Trinity Chapel crypt with its rounded instead of square abaci,* becomes nearly pure Gothic. So also Mr. E. C. Prior, while admitting the general lay-out, lines of construction, and carving of quire capitals to be French, maintains that the broader windows,



QUIRE ELEVATION (WILLIS)

* i.e., The upper order or portion of a capital.

detached shaftings, string course and shafts of Purbeck marble all denote English ideas. Certainly the most cursory comparison between the strength of the western part of the quire and the lightness of Becket's Crown will show at once that the architectural education, so to speak, of the second had advanced far beyond that of the first William. It must always be borne in mind that the Englishman was more or less compelled to carry on the general idea of the original plan in order to be in harmony with the work of his predecessor, but in the crypt below we see him giving rein to his fancy because there was no danger in that place of comparison with the work above.

In the next chapter further details on these points will be brought out as the various parts of the Cathedral are taken seriatim and at greater length.



Photograph]

{*Photochrom Co.*

CHRIST CHURCH GATE

CHAPTER II

THE EXTERIOR

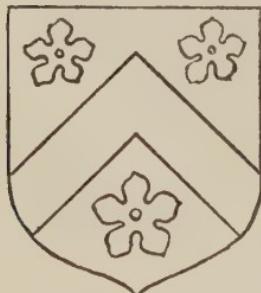
DESCENDING the hill, the true pilgrims at length reach the city and county of Canterbury, the ancient Dorobernia, and come along the narrow old world streets. On reaching the inn known as the "Chequers of the Hope" (now a draper's shop !) with the badge of the Black Prince, a leopard's head, carved in miniature among the stone mouldings at the corner, they will turn down Mercery Lane towards their goal as did so many thousands in the old days before them. Facing them at the end is the charming old gateway formerly the entrance to the lay cemetery now only to the Cathedral precincts (v. opposite). Time and weather have laid a heavy hand upon the sculptured ornament which has now mostly crumbled beyond recognition, but not so heavy a hand as was laid upon it by those in authority—who, *horribile dictu*, removed early in the last century the two lofty, flanking turrets, similar to those on the gateway of St. Augustine's, in order, it is said, that passers by the upper end of Mercery Lane might be able to see the Cathedral clock ! It bears the date upon it of 1517 and was one of the last works of Prior Goldston II. The wooden doors studded with nails and bearing

Archbishop Juxon's arms on one panel and those of the Dean and Chapter (azure on a cross argent a Roman figure X surmounted by a Roman figure I) on the other are worth noting, as also the arrangement of the wooden framework at the back which can be seen again on the doors of the Mint Yard gate.

Passing through this entrance the visitor at once comes face to face with the Cathedral stretched out before him, and gets the best general view from close quarters. It will be best to go round the outside first noting more especially such features as will not be included under any description of the interior.

The west front calls for comparatively little comment, with its small insignificant doorway, the most interesting feature of which is the ironwork in front, part of which came from the grille, c.1401, erected in place of the earlier rood screen between the two western piers of the central tower (p. 103). The insipid statues by Pfyffers, a Belgian sculptor, call for a corresponding amount of diluted enthusiasm. Coming round to the south porch the visitor reaches the main entrance which thus carries on the tradition of the old "Suthdure" (p. 6).

From the arms on the vaulting inside, which include those of Archbishop Chicheley (a chevron between three cinquefoils), it seems clear that the main part was



ARMS OF ARCHBISHOP
CHICHELEY

Archbishop Chicheley (a chevron between three cinquefoils), it seems clear that the main part was

[Photchrom Co.

THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

Photograph,



built by Chicheley and Prior Wodensburgh, while from the other heraldic coats, which include Vere, Ros, Warwick, Gloucester, and others, Willement is of opinion that it was built c.1422. The upper story has rich canopies over the niches of which the centre used to have representations of Becket's murderers but now has a small plaque showing the Crucifixion with St. Mary and St. John which is said to have been formerly part of the reredos of the altar *Ad Punctum Ensis*. Below are interesting wrought iron gates, the folding portions being further parts of Prior Chillenden's rood screen set in a framing of mid eighteenth century work in order to fill up the space. The oval in the tympanum bears the arms of the Dean and Chapter. In this connexion there seems to have been some uncertainty. Before the Reformation the arms were as to-day but with the X and I in old English letters. Afterwards, the only change was to Roman figures as just mentioned with regard to the Christ Church gate. Here, however, it will be noticed that the I is dotted and the use of small or capital letter seems to have been considered optional because both occur here and there throughout the Cathedral both on old and modern tombs and elsewhere. Continuing round, it should be noticed that the buttresses on either side of the third window from the west are themselves buttressed at the sides. At one time it was thought to mark the site of Archbishop Arundel's chapel and burial place, but it has since been proved that this was originally intended to be the south porch and that

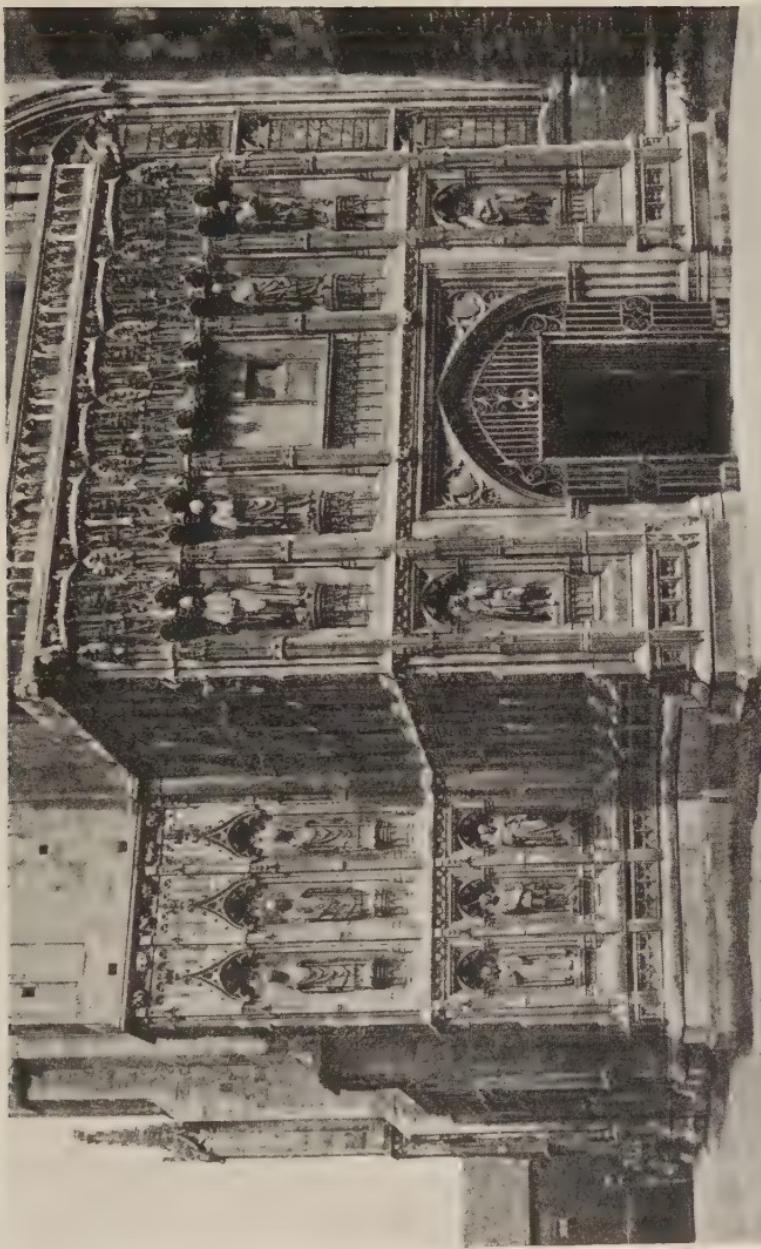
the builders altered their plans in the middle of the work and arranged matters as we see them to-day. The Brenchley chapel, afterwards used by the Neville family, was built outside the Cathedral and approached through an opening in the next bay to the east.

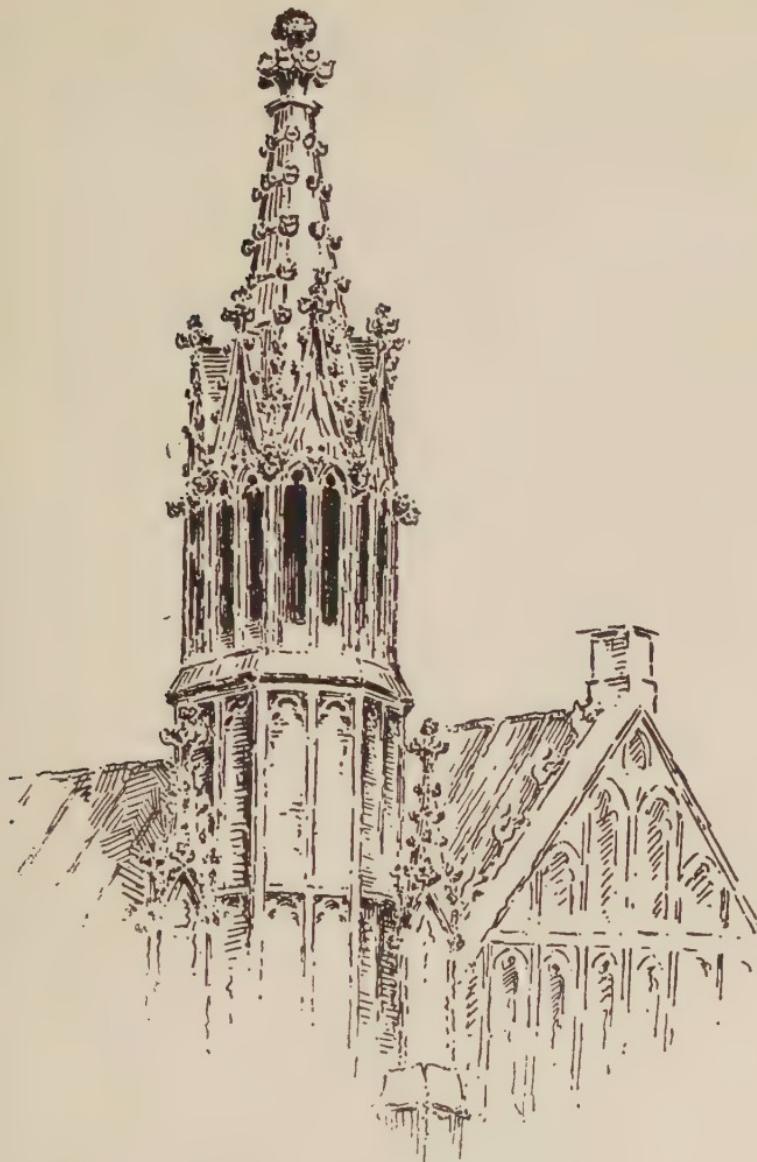
The next interesting object is the charming fifteenth century pinnacle at the corner of the south-west transept, which in turn leads the eye up to the most beautiful thing in Canterbury, namely, the Bell Harry Tower, formerly called the Angel Steeple. This magnificent effort soaring up for 235 feet in all its grace, with perfect proportions and elegant design, cannot fail to call forth the highest admiration. Divided into two stories with two two-light windows long and narrow in each face, of which the lower pairs have dainty ogeed canopies, and with buttressed octagonal turrets at each corner running straight up without a break of any kind to be crowned at the top with twelve gables and a slim pyramidal cap, this tower provides a picture of the most exquisite beauty. Originally built by Lanfranc it was added to in the time of Ernulph's restoration, the masonry of which period is seen clearly in the wall of what is known as the "square" of the lantern. The piers below were cased over by Prior Chillenden, c.1396, and the upper Norman work cleverly underbuilt with the present Perpendicular arches. Chillenden's inside staircase up the south-west turret was lined with faced stone. The next man to have anything to do with the tower was Prior Molash who, according to

[*Photochrom Co.*

THE SOUTH PORCH

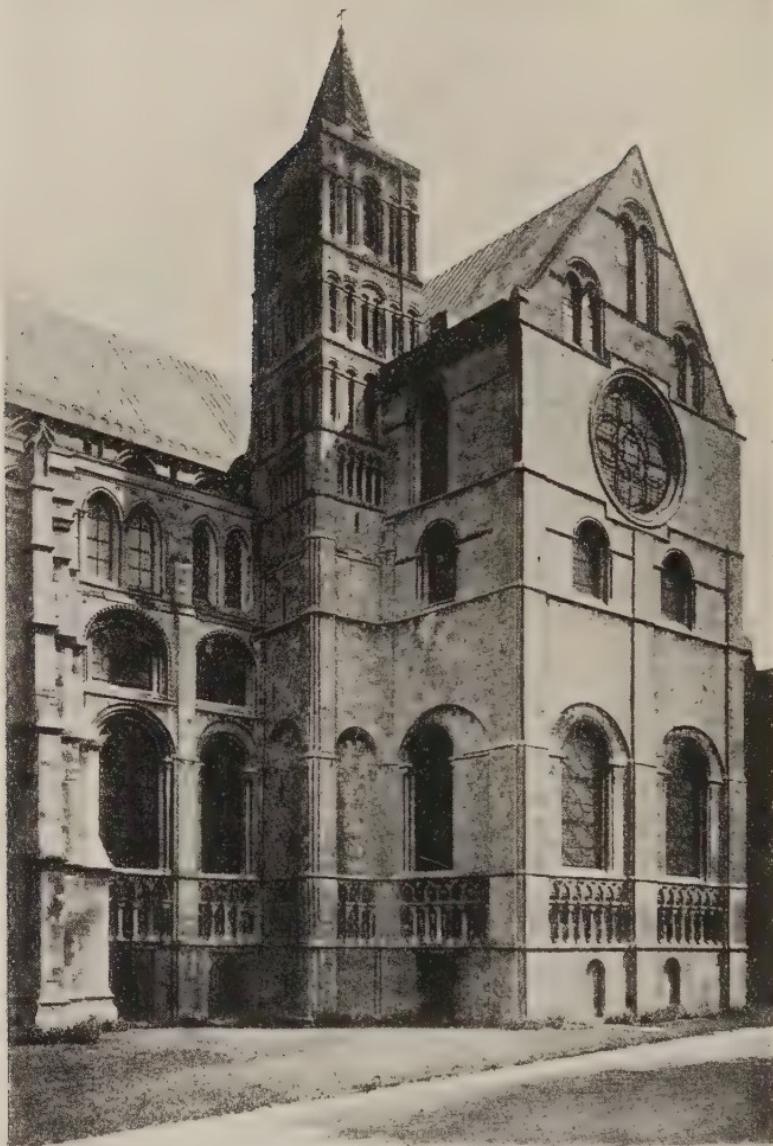
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PINNACLE: SOUTH-WEST TRANSEPT

Stone's chronicle, started work with Richard Beck, the master mason, in 1433, and in the opinion of Mr. W. D. Caröe provided the whole design of the wonderful upper part. His work can be easily detected outside by the use he made of small masonry which ends at the string course about on a level with the ridge of the quire roof, and inside by the facing of this portion of the staircase with thin bricks rising about five and a half to the foot. Stone in his chronicle says that a *tempestas magna* occurred in 1458 lasting six hours, and that a *malignus spiritus intravit* (entered) *in magnum cloacarium* (bell tower) *quod vocatur Belferay* and that he did some damage *set non multum!* Again some time elapsed before anything further was done, and then the work was practically finished with larger and unfortunately softer stone under Cardinal Morton by 1494 at the time of Prior Sellynge's death. Morton's rebus appears here and there on some of the corner turrets. That Prior Sellynge was responsible for the completion is shown by a quaint letter of his to the archbishop, quoted in full by Woodruff and Danks, in which he says that "Master Surveyor and I have communed with John Wastell your mason, berer hereof, to perceyve of hym what forme and shappe he will kepe in resyng of the pynacles of your new towre here: he drew unto us ij patrons of hem. . ." The same J. Wastell was shortly afterwards employed in the building of King's College Chapel at Cambridge. An account in the archives for 1493-4 shows that in that year 184 tonels of Caen stone were bought at a cost of £451



Photograph]

[*Photochrom Co.*]

THE SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT

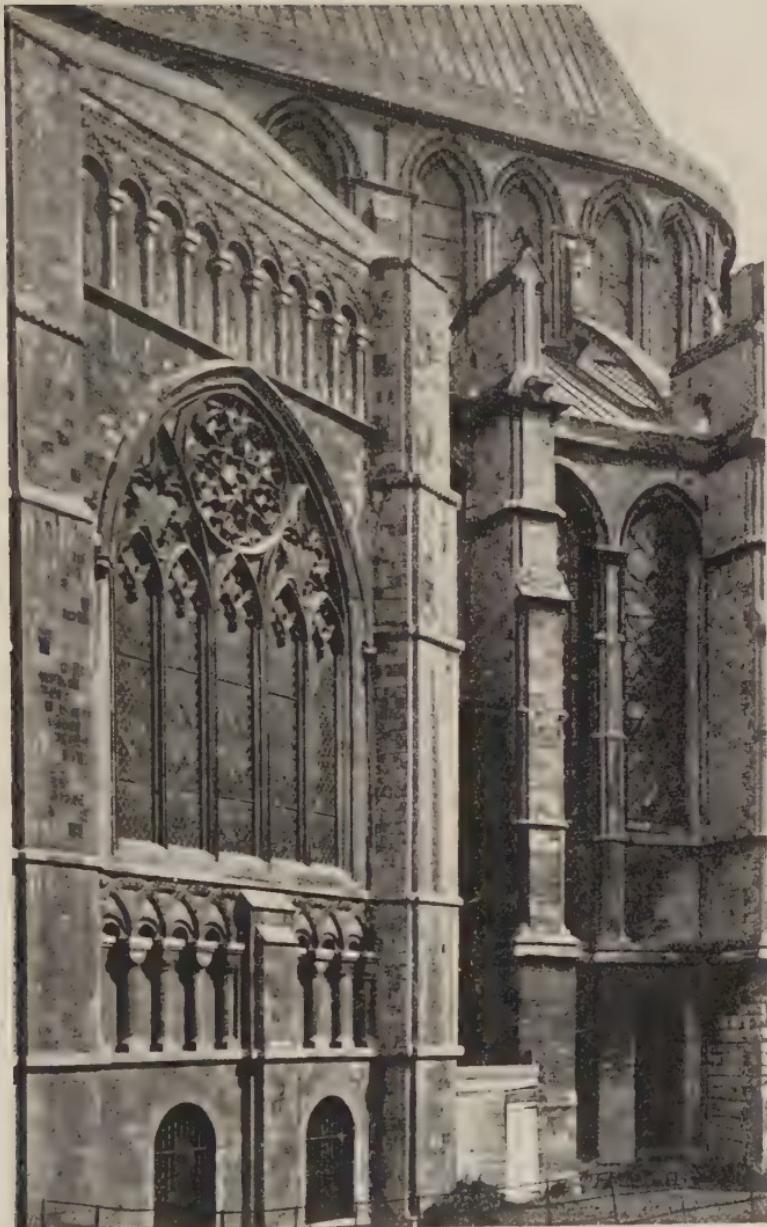
and 490 quarters of lime used *ad opus campanilis angelici*. The upper part of the staircase and the belfry story are lined with bricks of a good deal larger size than those used by Prior Molash. In the west windows of the lantern may be seen some good early glazing with heavy leading and small diamond panes. The upper story contains a treadmill by which a man can do the work of four in hoisting materials up in to the tower. At the top on the leads outside is hung the bell which is the successor of the bell "Harry" (probably put up by Prior Henry de Eastry) from which the tower took its name. The suggested association with King Henry VIII is incorrect. In 1904 the tower was found to be in a dangerous state owing to the poor quality of the stone employed by Sellynge, and at a cost of £15,000 extensive repairs were made which it may be hoped will have made good this gem of architecture for many a long day to come.

This, however, is not the only beautiful tower of which the Cathedral can boast, for just beyond rises another in Norman style, c.1130, profusely ornamented (v. opposite). A point to note in connexion with this is that, at the bottom, the tower is not square with the quire aisle wall but is so built that it gradually twists round until, by the time it reaches the coping of the transept, it "lines out" right with the transept and quire. The same remark applies to its companion attached to the north-east transept, and the peculiarity can be tested by standing close under the corner and looking up or by going on to the roof and

noticing how each course of arcading works a little more round to get the set out at last correct.

The band of arcading which can be seen running round this transept together with the windows and wall up to the bottom of the rose window are the work of Ernulph. Still further to the east is the tower or chapel of St. Anselm, also by Ernulph, and built on the curve of the earlier apse. On its south side is the only Decorated window (v. opposite) in the Cathedral, a very fine example of five lights built in 1336 at a cost of £42 by Prior Oxinden. Externally it has been repaired with Portland stone but is original stone on the inside. From here can also be seen an important detail, namely, the flat and simple flying buttresses supporting the quire vaulting. These are the first examples of their kind in England and are most interesting. The flat coping is modern but the stone beneath seems to be the original masonry. On St. Anselm's Chapel there is a fine leaden rain-water spout-head with initials W. C. T. and the date 1738. At the extreme east end is the famous Becket's Crown which from outside has a most unsatisfactory top. As a matter of fact the building was in the first place never completed, and it was not until 1748 that, with the aid of contributions from a Captain Pudner, it was more or less finished.

Passing to the north side round this end which, from the winds and draughts about it, takes the suggestive nickname of "Kill Canon Corner," and leaving the monastic remains to be dealt with later, note the small building projecting from the quire on a lofty foundation, which is the Chapel



Photograph

[Photochrom Co.

PRIOR OXINDEN'S WINDOW

of King Henry IV. Further on comes one of the most interesting corners of the Cathedral, where the early apse of Ernulph with the later Treasury and the still later work of Trinity Chapel by William the Englishman give an instructive conspectus of the progress of Norman architecture. The Treasury is especially noteworthy for its richly ornamented arcading, windows, and courses of a kind of enriched key pattern, the whole supported on an undercroft which is well worth inspecting at close quarters. This, however, together with what is further described, cannot be seen without the payment of a small fee which will nevertheless be amply repaid by the visit. Adjoining the Treasury on the west is the one bay left of the substructure of the external "auditorium."

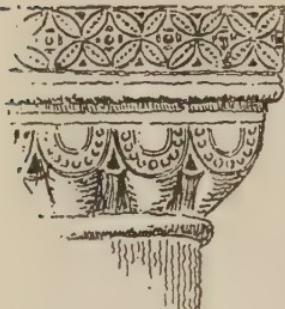
Formerly there were two which supported this audit room on to a level with the Treasury, the room itself being reached by the staircase leading out of St. Andrew's Tower. To the west again the visitor reaches the covered way which takes the passage through from the south-east transept to the Lavatory Tower. The plain and solid Norman work here has a wonderful repose and dignity, and the strong contrasts of light and shade are most striking.

A little farther on to the left the opportunity



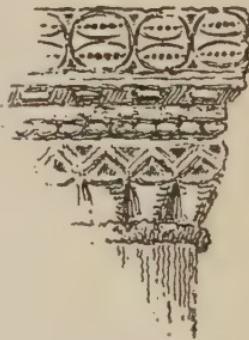
TREASURY
UNDERCROFT

now comes of getting close up underneath the beautiful Norman tower of the south-east transept when, as has already been pointed out (p. 31) the curious twist in the building can be clearly seen. Immediately to the west is the Deans' Chapel and if we penetrate into the narrow passage between this and the Chapter House we shall be rewarded by seeing that practically the whole wall below the great north window of the north-west transept is Lanfranc's work.



TREASURY
UNDERCROFT

Not only so but on one of the buttresses will be seen the remains of the reredos of the tiny chapel which was formerly built out here behind and in connexion with Warham's Tomb. These queer little courts or spaces which have just been traversed are known by the name of the "Stillitories," that is to say, spaces between buildings which receive the rain droppings from the eaves for which *stillicidium* is the Latin word. Some suggest that the name refers to the place as being where the monks distilled medicines and such like, their herb garden having been close by, and this meaning it could by another derivation quite well bear, but when reference is made to Eadwine's plan of the water works



TREASURY
UNDERCROFT

[*Photochrom Co.*

BECKET'S CROWN FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

Photograph



(p. 162) it will be seen that he definitely marks the rain-water pipes as "Stillicidia" which seems to point to the probable meaning.

INTERIOR

Returning and entering the Cathedral by the south porch, the prospect of the nave seems somewhat disappointing. Over lofty, especially as regards the aisles, in comparison with its breadth, due no doubt to its being built on Lanfranc's plan which had naturally not been designed for so great a height, there is a narrowness and lack of life which is unfortunate. The vaulting also with somewhat over-small bosses seems chill and artificial, and perhaps the less that is said about the modern stained glass the better! Being of later date it will be more fittingly described towards the end of this chapter, and it will be best to make for the curious flights of steps at the eastern end, which will have already caught the eye, and seek the quire.

As seen to-day the quire proper is entirely the work of William of Sens. The large single pillars with square abaci* and finely carved foliage described by Winkle as "Anglo-Norman imitations of Corinthian columns," have a stately appearance and are pure French in design. Above is the triforium with its Purbeck marble shafts and two pointed arched openings in each bay, topped by the single windowed clerestory, and crowned by what is technically known as a

* *i.e.*, The upper order or portion of a capital.

sexpartite vault, i.e. where each square compartment of the vault covers two bays of the nave and is divided into six triangular areas. This last is a typically French method of construction, to be found in the Cathedral of Sens itself. Beyond the transept crossing, the design changes somewhat. The capitals of the big pillars seem to be more elaborately carved, the first pair of twin columns appears and the triforium arches are now two pairs in each bay, each pair being pointed but under a round arch. Above all there is that strange nipping in of the quire towards the east which is a feature peculiar to Canterbury, due to the preservation of Ernulph's two towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm on the curve of his former apse. It must further be remembered that the Frenchman's design was on a loftier scale than that of Ernulph, so much so that the latter's clerestory only reached the former's triforium as can be seen in the transepts (*v. post*). Hereafter the work of the Englishman begins and is carried on, on similar lines, with however more frequent and detached shafts of Purbeck marble and a fresh arrangement of triforium arches which are now four in number and pointed as before but with no enclosing arches. The clerestory is now furnished with two lancet windows where hitherto there has been one, and most noticeable of all, there is a general use of the distinctive twin columns.

Round the quire run the famous stone screens (1304 A.D.) of Prior Eastry consisting of a series of double lights under a moulded arch with a five-cusped circle in the head, the whole sur-

mounted by a cornice enriched with foliage, trefoils, and battlements. Note a little sculptured foliage in the cusped circle nearest the pulpit and in the corresponding one opposite by the archbishop's throne—it is not found elsewhere in the screen. It is known that late in the twelfth century low walls of marble separated the quire from the aisles and it is on these that Eastry's screens rest. Evidence of this can be seen on the aisle side where the moulding on the marble, as Professor Willis pointed out, is of the type of William of Sens. There are two beautiful entrances on the north and south sides. That on the north, coeval with the screens, has a little of its original painting left in its tiny vault and a very fine pendant boss. That on the south is later, c. 1340, and is notable for having the only ball flower ornament, so distinctive of the Decorated period, to be found in the Cathedral. The iron gates are modern. Just beyond the lectern which bears the inscription *Gulielmus Burroughs Londini me fecit A.D. 1663* may be seen some of the original stalagmite pavement of Ernulph's quire, the proof of this assertion lying in the fact that whenever any part of it has had to be removed there are found quantities of molten lead which must have fallen down and trickled through the joints in a liquid state at the time of the fire of 1174. Near by on the south wall of the screen within the altar rails is to be seen some charming stone diaper work, c. 1320. This was in all probability part of the decoration of the altar of St. Dunstan who was buried at this spot with

St. Alphege in a corresponding position on the other side. This decoration is most beautiful and must be examined. The figures of angels with long necks (!) on the screens nearer the altar on either side are of course modern. About half way up the pillar by Archbishop Kemp's tomb is the bracket, with a representation of a castle on the side, by which the Lenten veil was stretched across before the altar.

The first reredos proper was attempted by Prior Eastry, but some difficulty arose with Jordan the painter who appears to have given up the job because he had found a better one elsewhere! However, it was presumably finished eventually because a portion of it may be seen to-day in Adisham Church, a few miles away, whither it was taken, c.1700, by Archdeacon Batteley, the then rector. This was followed at about the end of the fourteenth century by a richly ornamented specimen which remained until Puritan times. In 1664 Hartover, the Deptford painter, provided a renaissance reredos, which again was superseded by the classical design of the amateur designer John Burroughs, Master of Caius College, Cambridge. This was removed by Mr. Austin in 1825, who substituted a Gothic "effort" of that period supposed to be based in design upon the screens in the crypt. Modern taste in 1921 condemned and abolished the offending object for which the only thing to be said in its favour is that its construction was remarkably good. The result now is that at the expense of making the altar look somewhat bare and forlorn the view through into



Photograph

J. Charlton.

THE QUIRE

the Trinity Chapel is laid open. The retable to the altar is made of nicely coloured alabaster.

Histories tell us that, in 1511, Prior Goldston II hung the south wall of the quire with tapestries representing scenes from the life of Our Lady, and that in the same year Richard Dering, the cellarer, did the same for the north side with scenes from the life of Our Lord. They disappeared with many other things in Puritan times and it might be thought that this was the end of them, but not so by any means, for Dr. Montague R. James, Provost of Eton, has recently satisfied himself that these hangings still exist as the property of the Cathedral of Aix en Provence. In Somner's day (1640) they were still in use in the quire, and he describes them briefly, giving the inscription upon them, the last nine words of which can be read on the tapestries at Aix to-day—*celerarius me fieri fecit anno domini millesimo quingentesimo undecimo*, the cellarer had me made in the year 1511. They are said to have been bought in 1656 for 1,200 crowns in Paris and tradition has generally assigned them to St. Paul's Cathedral. In a recent article to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, as also by a lecture to the Kent Archaeological Society, Dr. James clearly proves his point that these embroideries on the contrary once belonged to Canterbury.

There were, in the first instance, three pieces dealing with the life of Our Lord and three with that of Our Lady, probably containing five scenes each; but of these only twenty-six remain to-day, some hanging behind the stalls in the Cathedral

quire and others in the archbishop's palace. A border, ornamented with a vase pattern, shields of arms, and badges, runs along the top, and a similar border is found at the bottom but with only one kind of device.

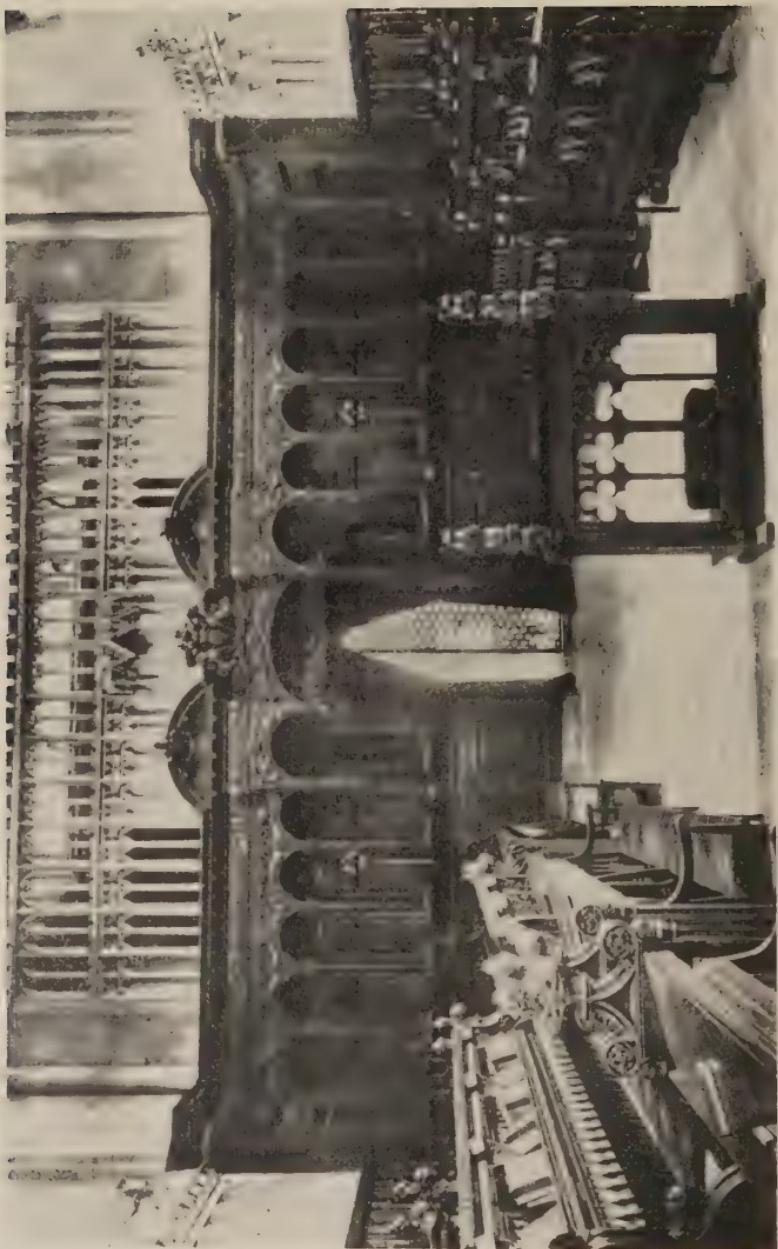
The arms which occur are: (1) Archbishop Deane or Denne (on a chevron between three ravens [? choughs], three croziers erect). (2) England and France; (3) See of Canterbury impaling Morton; (4) See of Canterbury impaling Warham; (5) Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury. The devices are: (1) three roundels on a shield—the two upper ones bearing a lion or similar animal, the lower the bust of a king crowned and with sword and sceptre; (2) a deer couchant with R on his body—motto *Soli deo gloria* (almost certainly the badge of Richard Dering). In the lower border is the capital letter P transfixed by a small "i" with T. G. below for Thomas Goldston Prior.

The embroideries have been much cut about and re-arranged to fit stalls for which they were not originally intended, but the greater part remains and it is not difficult to guess the scenes so vividly depicted. There are also one or two curious points to be noted, such as that in the scene on Christmas night when the angels appear to the shepherds who have with them a shepherdess, a not uncommon fancy at this period, or where St. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin are worshipping Our Lord and, behind, is a monk with a bagpipe hanging on his arm. When Our Lord goes down into Hades or the Place of Departed Spirits, the

[Ackland & Youngman.

WESTERN RETURN STALLS

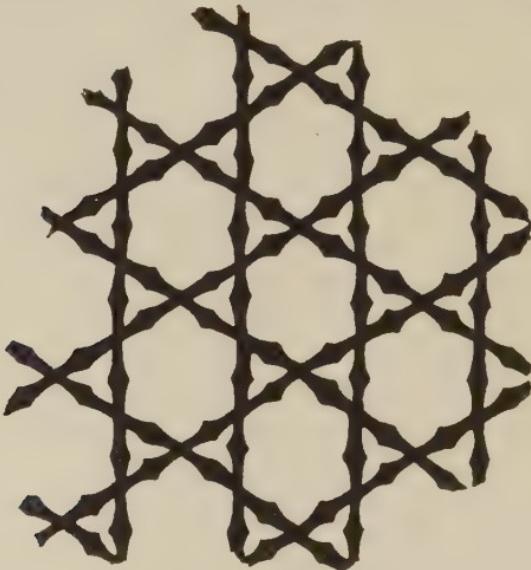
Photograph by



first to greet Him are Adam and Eve while hideous demons flit about in the background ; and again in the Garden of Gethsemane a negro is introduced and St. Peter is portrayed brandishing an enormous curved sword after the style of a scimitar. There seems little doubt but that the tapestries are of Flemish design.

Eastry's screens were afterwards covered with wooden panelling in 1676, and in 1704 the old thirteenth century pews were replaced by others. Finally, in 1879, Sir G. G. Scott took away the "substantial and elegant enclosures" and pews to make room for his own new stalls and seats as seen to-day, and, had he had his will, the western return stalls would have likewise disappeared ! These stalls were put up in 1682 by Roger Davis "cittizen and joyner" of London and bear the royal arms with those of Archbishop Sheldon (v. opposite). The panels at the back are made to open, and, through them, can be seen Eastry's original screens still intact with much of the original decoration remaining, such as gold rosettes on a green ground and a border of golden lions and fleur de lys alternately on a red ground with a little blue here and there. On the west side of this screen the whole face was covered, c.1400, by Prior Chillenden's overlay, the junction of the respective stoneworks being clearly marked by the joint in the door jamb. This addition (partly seen in illustration p. 44) remains more or less intact except that the large figures have been to a certain extent "restored" and the upper row of eleven figures, with another on each

side round the corner, which are comparatively modern, added from the niches on Archbishop Chicheley's tomb when it was restored some twenty years ago. Much speculation has arisen as to whom the larger figures represent but it is generally agreed that the figure by the doorway holding a church is Ethelbert while the remainder may include kings from Edward III to Henry V



DESIGN OF QUIRE GATES

In the entrance the lower archway of Eastry's work is seen, and to hide this Chillenden filled up the tympanum of his own arch with stone panelling. At the apex is a silver gilt figure of Our Lord in the act of blessing, given in 1899 by Mrs. Hughes D'Aeth. On the inner jamb the stone is worn into a ribbed appearance showing where the holy water sprinkler hung on its chain

and which, with continual use and swinging backwards and forwards, has left its mark behind. The early fifteenth century wrought iron gates with their geometrical pattern are of a design uncommon in England.

Having exhausted the quire it will be best to pass round into the south-west transept, built in the time of King Henry V, from which leads out the "Buff's" Chapel dedicated to St. Michael. In Lanfranc's day this chapel was apsidal (see plan) but in 1438 Margaret Holland, daughter of the Earl of Kent, desired for herself and her two husbands a suitable resting-place and to that end she had permission to pull down the old Norman apse and built this chapel with its fine lierne vault at a slight angle outwards from the quire. The famous Archbishop Stephen Langton was already buried here in the middle before the altar, but as she intended this position for herself it was necessary to remove his coffin tomb further to the east. Here, however, it was likely to interfere with the priest at the altar and therefore, in order to keep it lying east and west and yet get the head flush with the front of the altar out of the way of the priest, she was compelled so to place it that the foot projected a little way through the east wall and so had to be covered over. The idea that it had once been outside altogether and that the new east wall was made to stride over it was put forth by Professor Willis, who in his day had not had the advantage of seeing certain documents now available which show him to have been wrong. Her own beautiful tomb Margaret

Holland then raised in the middle of the chapel—an altar tomb of Purbeck marble with alabaster figures of herself and her two husbands lying upon it. She had married first John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, the illegitimate son of John of Gaunt. Chamberlain of England and Captain of Calais. Her second husband was Thomas, Duke of Clarence, son of Henry IV and Lieutenant-General of his armies abroad. He was killed at the battle of Baugy in 1421 and from his helmet it is said there was taken by a Scot a jewelled circlet which was afterwards sold for a very large sum of money. This circlet is doubtless intended to be represented on his helmet here. Only a few days after the chapel had been consecrated in 1439 the Duchess died and was re-united with her two husbands in the one tomb, they having been previously buried in the Trinity Chapel. Around and against the walls are various monuments of Jacobean and later dates, pretentious and heavy in appearance in spite of the fact that the two daughters on the Thornhurst tomb have been described as "lively deportrated beneath." To-day it is known also as the Warriors' Chapel and is set apart for the East Kent Regiment (the "Buff's") whose flags and war memorial it contains.

Leaving this transept and going up the steps past a massive octagonal wrought iron post of the fifteenth century, with pyramidal cap, into the south quire aisle the rough walling on the left is the lower part of Ernulph's first quire pier. A small doorway on the right gives on to a staircase in the thickness of the wall built, according to Willis, by Ernulph



Photograph

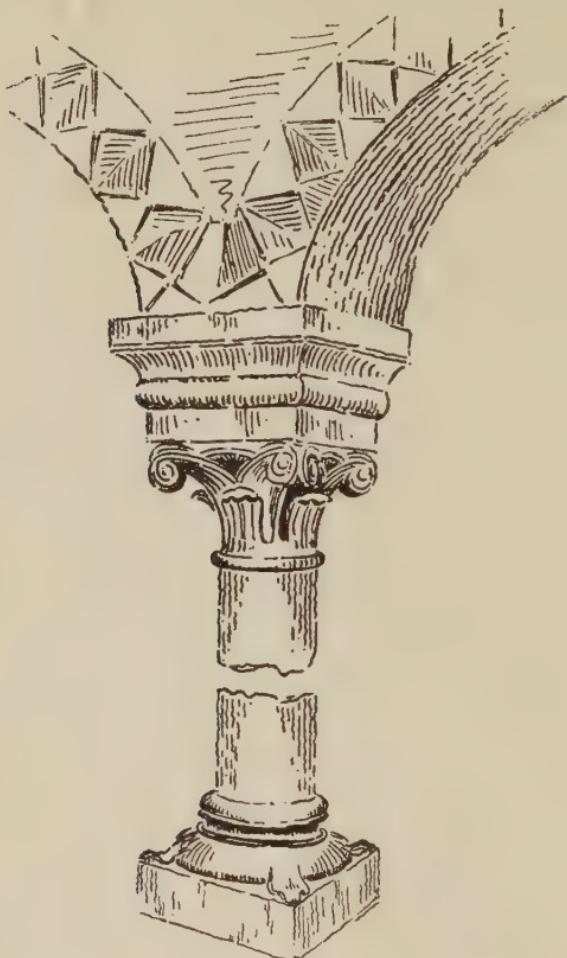
Ackland & Youngman.

VIEW FROM SOUTH-WEST TRANSEPT

on a foundation of Lanfranc's wall (see the latter's stringcourse on a level with the pavement). This staircase leads up to the chamber over St. Michael's Chapel. Just where the staircase turns to the left, inside and close by the bottom step, is what may be a consecration cross now used merely as material in the wall. The chamber itself contains the emergency hand bellows of the organ. Burnby says that formerly it was used as the Cathedral armoury. It was afterwards the choristers' school. In the ceiling are three interesting heads with names beneath, viz. Thos. —— Prior, John Wodensburgh, and William Molasch "discipulus." At first sight the temptation is to put Chillenden in the vacant space but seeing that the chapel below was not built until after his death it seems necessary to describe this room as an addition by Prior Thomas Goldston I (1449-68) in whose day it happens curiously enough that there was another John Wodensburgh, "doctor decretorum," in the monastery, and according to Messrs. Woodruff and Danks there was also another William Molasch !

In these quire aisles the occasion offers of comparing the remains of Ernulph's work with that of William of Sens. Most of the side walls are of the former's building together with the simple arcading beneath the windows. Here and there it has been repaired by William which affords an easy means of distinguishing between the two styles. The heads of the windows are Ernulph but in every case they have been taken out by William, the jambs raised about four feet and the heads replaced. Similarly, the vaulting shafts

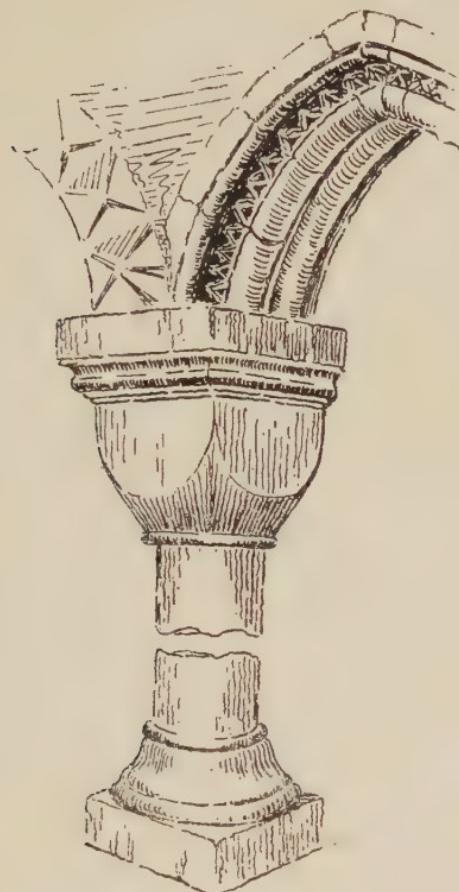
have all been raised to tally with William's taller quire columns for, says Gervase, "the pillars of the new work were of the same form and diameter



MIXED WORK: ERNULPH AND WILLIAM

as the old but were about twelve feet higher." The extra wall space thus gained, even above the heightened windows, was turned by William into

a lighted lower triforium or passage way. The accompanying illustration will show clearly enough the difference between the rough axe work of

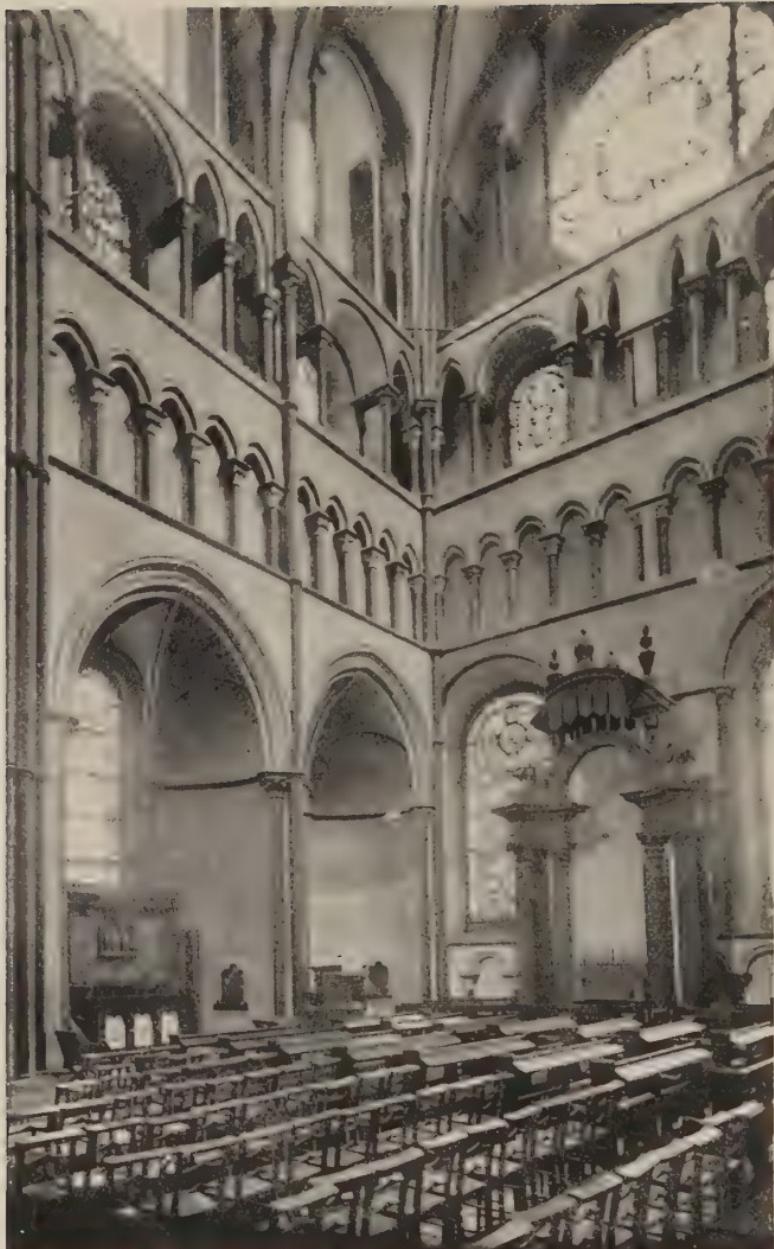


MIXED WORK: ERNULPH AND WILLIAM

Ernulph, his plain solid cushion capitals, and simply moulded bases with the stiff-leaved ornamentation of William's capitals and his undercut water-holding base mouldings, which in point of fact are

generally considered a characteristic of the Early English period of architecture. The ribs of the vaulting are equally interesting showing as they do the essentially Norman decorations of zigzag and billet in conjunction with the Early English dog tooth. A further clear distinction between Ernulph and William is to be found in the masonry of the aisle vaulting shafts. Those of the former are composed of small stones, several going towards making each course of the cylinder, whereas in the upper part added by William each course is formed of one single stone.

A little farther on, in the window, is a panelled tomb upon which lies a mutilated figure. Some have thought that the former may relate to Archbishop W. Reynolds (d. 1327), although it is not in the place prescribed by his will, and that the latter may be that of Archbishop Winchelsey (d. 1313), which is just possible. The adjoining tomb eastward has been said by Sir W. H. St. J. Hope to be almost certainly that of the famous Prior Henry de Eastry, d. 1331, because the figure shows a mitred Prior in mass vestments and not an archbishop, and because the empty niche on either side probably held the statues of St. Syth and St. Apollonia referred to in the inventory made after the death of this Prior. An entry in the monastic accounts for 1331 says, *Item pro tumba domini H. prioris xxij lib. iiij sol. iiiij den.* Just beyond this comes the excellent view of the south-east transept here illustrated, showing very well the mixture of arches. Willis suggests that while William of Sens may just have had time to adapt



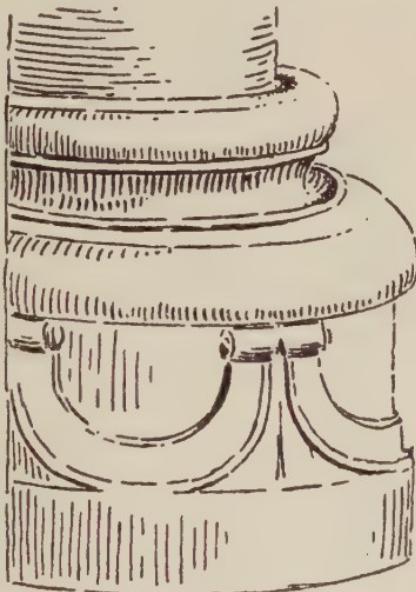
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[Ackland & Youngman.

THE SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT

and build up on Ernulph's work here it was probably left to the English William to finish the inner work and decoration, hence the noticeable presence of rounded abaci to the pillars of the apses and an unusual and pleasing base to the shafts. It is only in these transepts that Ernulph's clerestory remains, its round headed windows being seen in the triforium course (v. illustration opposite). Here also is the former archbishop's throne given in 1704 by Archbishop Tenison, the carving of which is attributed to Grinling Gibbons. It has been superseded by the poor erection in the quire of Archbishop Howley early in the nineteenth century, and has now been ingeniously fitted up as an organ case and the whole transept is used as a chapel by the King's school.

In passing along the quire aisles the shallow sinking round the square base of each large column on the left is worth noting. It was designed to take an iron band for strengthening the masonry — portions of this band remain here and there, especially in the north aisle.



BASE : SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT

Opposite, on the left, is the south entrance to the quire already mentioned. On this side it bears a little niche with two tiny heads most pleasingly carved. Just beyond is the interesting tomb of Archbishop Kemp with what is known as a most elegant and uncommon double tester or canopy made of wood. Immediately beyond again is the sadly mutilated tomb of John Stratford, d. 1348, made of alabaster from Nottinghamshire quarries, and, adjoining to the east, is that of the unfortunate Archbishop Simon of Sudbury, beheaded by the mob on Tower Hill in 1381 at the time of the Wat Tyler rebellion for being as Chancellor responsible for the hated poll tax. His head is still preserved in the church of St. Gregory in his native town in Suffolk while the substitute here takes the form of a ball of lead! On the blank aisle wall opposite Stratford's tomb is clear evidence of the heightening of the side walls and window heads, for, in this bay, is seen Ernulph's string-course at the original lower level from which sprang his vaulting.

The view eastwards at this point is very fine (see illustration opposite). The opening on the right is St. Anselm's Chapel, which is one of the most interesting parts of the Cathedral. It has been shown that this is Ernulph's work built on the curve of his apse and only so far altered by William of Sens as to have had its north-east corner shaved off to allow room for his procession path or ambulatory round the Trinity Chapel. The screen which separates the chapel from the aisle has some very dainty carving, showing the

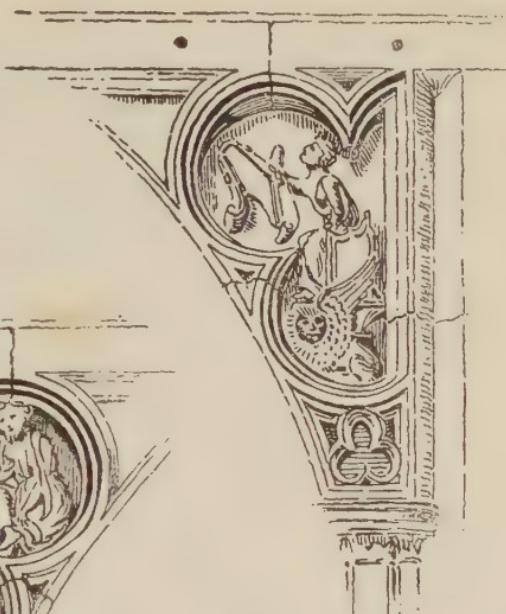


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[Photochrom Co.

AISLE FROM SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT

four Evangelists in the corner spandrels in most uncomfortable positions, the other spandrels containing each two figures in various attitudes. At the same time this screen forms a canopy over the black marble tomb of Archbishop Simon Mepham, d. 1333. Referring to this



SCREEN : ST. ANSELM'S
CHAPEL (ST. MARK)

SCREEN :
ST.
ANSELM'S
CHAPEL

primate Fuller, the historian, in his quaint dry way, informs us that during his metropolitical visitation in the

West Country Mepham's right was resisted by Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, which ended in the inevitable appeal to Rome, and he goes on to say that "This affront did half break Mepham's heart and the Pope, siding with the Bishop against him, broke the other half thereof!" Overhead are

some good late Norman capitals, one on the west being ornamented with basket work. The entrance gates are of about the same date as the tomb and are a very pleasant design in Sussex iron. Inside is the fine Decorated window referred to previously on the exterior and fitted with good modern stained glass by Clayton and Bell. Beneath is the plain tomb of Archbishop Thos. Bradwardine, who died of the plague in 1349, which, to satisfy the doubts of Mr. Austin, the Cathedral surveyor, was opened in 1888 and found to contain the Archbishop's body. Turning round from here towards the apse there is seen high up on the north side a most striking wall painting in still brilliant colours of St. Paul at Melita (*Acts xxviii. 3*) shaking off the serpent into the fire (v. opposite). Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A., was of opinion that the subject is unique in this country and pointed out the extraordinary life and free movement of the drawing, more especially of the hands and feet, which indeed are clearly apparent on looking at the accompanying illustration. The probability is that here we have a specimen of the decoration which gained for the quire the epithet "glorious," although its probable date, c. 1160-70, would put it later than Prior Conrad. Reasons for this idea are that this painting was accidentally discovered in 1888 when a piece of Norman walling running across the north corner of the apse from the entrance arch to near the centre window was taken away. It seems probable that this support was put in after Conrad had finished his work, and before the great fire, in order to remedy a weakness in the building. The same



Photograph

[Ackland & Youngman.

WALL PAINTING : ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL

remark applies to the earlier portion of the walling in of St. Gabriel's Chapel below (see post under crypt), because it is to be noted that Gervase in his story makes no mention of this buttressing up above nor of the concealed altar of the chapel in the crypt below. Furthermore, it will be seen that both arches of this chapel have been narrowed in span, the half buried Ernulph capital being visible at the apse entrance on the north side especially. Professor Willis thought that this alteration was the work of William of Sens but, seeing that the mouldings of the narrowed arches are exactly the same as those of Ernulph in St. Andrew's Chapel, and that the shafts, especially those of the quire aisle arch, have the smaller masonry typical of Ernulph, and further that the shafts of the apse have the earlier bases, it seems more probable that this narrowing was done simultaneously with the walling up of the painting before the time of William of Sens. Above this chapel is a room known as the "Watching Chamber." The tradition that it was the prison of King John of Bohemia is now universally discredited, and the idea that it was a somewhat similar abode for refractory monks seems also unlikely. Again, it cannot have been intended for watching St. Thomas's Shrine because, being in the north-west face of this wall, it affords the barest glimpse towards the east, while the splay of the three-light opening being if anything more towards the west the direct view hits about half-way down the present altar steps, where in point of fact the old high altar used to stand. A glance

at the plans (p. 16), and at the illustration opposite, will show the situation very clearly. The bright spot of light high up on the left is not the opening referred to but the darker spot on the same level a little to the right. To have a priest or watchman living in a sacred building is nothing unusual, as is proved by many a parish church porch throughout England, to say nothing of a case like Laindon in Essex, where the priest's tiny house is part and parcel of the west end of the church with an opening eastward to enable him to see that the lamps before the altar were burning properly. The walls of this room have a most irregular and unfinished appearance as though they had once gone, or were intended to go, higher. Part of the wall plate on the west side is all that remains of the oak cornice with simple battlement ornament which ran along the top of Prior Eastry's wrought iron aisle grilles.

Now are reached the ancient steps leading up to what was originally the Trinity Chapel, afterwards the Chapel of St. Thomas and now again known by its first name. These steps are usually said to have been so worn by the feet of the pilgrims to the Shrine, and this may be believed provided that the share of the numerous modern pilgrims in the work of attrition be also taken into account ! With regard to all these flights of steps at Canterbury which are so astonishing a feature, their presence is entirely due to the existence of the crypts underneath, which carry on the idea of the old "confessio" as before mentioned. The ground, being low lying and marshy, did not admit of deep



Photograph

[Ackland & Youngman.

THE 'WATCHING CHAMBER'

digging and therefore if a crypt was required, and no Cathedral could well be without one, this involved the raising of the quire above as may be also seen in the case of Winchester. Here, however, the peculiarity lies more particularly in the second flight of steps by which we are now standing, and which at the top will have helped to raise the visitor as much as twenty-five feet above the level of the nave. These also are caused by a unusually lofty crypt beneath which, together with these steps, go to show that William the Englishman introduced his own ideas where possible into the original design. It seems pretty clear that the Frenchman's plan was to carry the retroquire along on the same level as the quire because as these steps ascend they will be seen to be swallowing up William of Sens' small arcading already in position on the south side in a way that shows them to be a later introduction and change of scheme, as indeed may also be said of the crypt itself below, of which more hereafter. Passing up the steps note a lobe-shaped ornament round the two arches at the side which is distinctive of William of Sens—it appears also, though difficult to see, over the lower triforium windows and on the aisle side of the quire arches.

Such is the approach to the site of the far-famed Shrine, the goal of the older pilgrims' journeyings. Immediately after his murder the body of the Saint was buried in the rectangular Trinity Chapel crypt below in a tomb probably after the shape here depicted in the glass, if such a record is to be trusted. Here it remained during all the later

rebuilding, visited, after the lapse of the first year during which the Cathedral was considered desecrated, by multitudes of pilgrims. By the year 1220 the present Trinity Chapel had been built and sumptuously fitted up for the express purpose of receiving the gorgeous shrine designed and made by Elias de Dereham, Canon of Salisbury, and Walter of Colchester, Sacrist of St. Albans, that *sculptor et pictor incomparabilis* as Matthew Paris has it (p. 58). Then came the great day in the calendar, July 7th, when in the presence of a brilliant and enormous assemblage the bones of the Saint were translated with much pomp from the gloom of the crypt below to the glittering chapel above where they were destined to rest for three hundred years. The whole of the central part of the chapel was taken up with the Shrine, and its appurtenances, and the little that is left to-day leaves much to be filled in by the imagination. Surrounding the middle space are the well-known twin columns, two whole and two half pillars of which on the inside are of a soft pink Sicilian marble. Tradition says that the rest would likewise so have been had not the remainder of the gift unfortunately got no farther than Marsala, in Spain, where they are supposed to have remained to this day. There seems little need to assume these pillars to have been a present from the Pope because King Henry II's connexion with Sicily for many years had been close by reason of the fact that in 1176 his daughter had married William the Good of Sicily and it was probably through her agency that the pillars were obtained. The



Photograph]

TRINITY CHAPEL

[J. Charlton.

joints of the pillars are run in with lead in order to equalize the weight. At the western end is the beautiful floor of various marbles inlaid in



STONE ROUNDELS: TRINITY CHAPEL

geometrical design, known as Opus Alexandrinum, similar in style to that round the tomb of Edward the Confessor at Westminster and frequently found in many churches in Italy. It can just be made

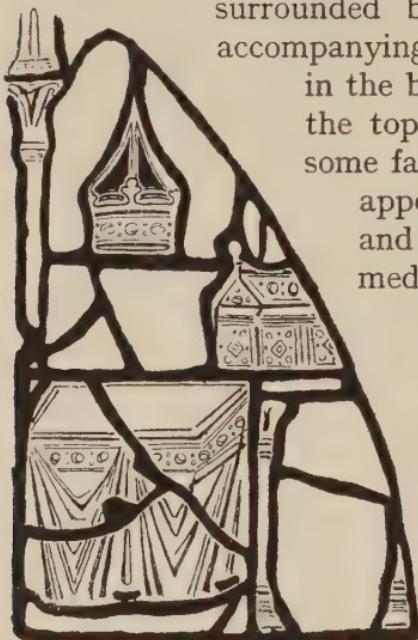


STONE ROUNDELS: TRINITY CHAPEL

out in the foreground of the illustration. On either side are roundels of stone with signs of the Zodiac, Virtues triumphing over Vices and the

months of the year illustrated by the operations of husbandry in low relief and now much worn in many cases. Immediately to the east can be seen the slight depression in the marble, traceable round three sides, worn by the knees of the kneeling pilgrims. Within this rectangle stood the Shrine—a gigantic golden casket raised on short pillars with an altar at the head or western end—

surrounded by an iron grille. The accompanying tracing from the glass in the bottom of the window at the top of the steps will give some faint idea of the probable appearance of the Shrine and its arrangement. The medallion at the extreme top of the centre of the three big windows on the north side gives a more comprehensive view of the Shrine and shows the Saint miraculously squeezing himself out at the end thereof ! High up in the vault may be seen a gilded crescent about which



BECKET'S SHRINE

there has been much discussion. Some would have it as bearing allusion to the east end of a church being usually sacred to the Blessed Virgin Mary with whom a crescent is associated ; others would see in it a reference to the tradition, now completely disproved, as to Becket's Saracen mother. The late

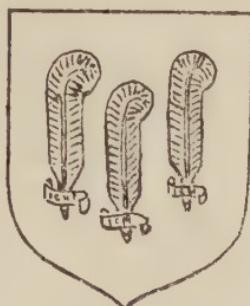
Mr. Austin's explanation that it formed the centre of a series of trophies from the Holy Land is the one most generally received, but there is nothing definite known about it except that it is made of a foreign wood. Becket among other titles was also called St. Thomas Acrensis from his connexion with the Knights of St. John at Acre, but whether this had anything to do with the crescent is another matter.

Becket's fame as a Saint was not only national but international, and brought many pilgrims and much money to Canterbury. The Shrine, itself came to be loaded with rings, jewels, and costly offerings, including the wonderful "Regale," or precious stone presented in 1179 by Louis VII of France. All this voluptuous array was not, however, always on view for a wooden canopy with little silver bells attached was used as a protective covering, and only at intervals during the day would it be raised to display the glories of the Shrine beneath. Despite the glamour and romance of the story the feeling rises in the mind that all this gathering together and heaping up of treasure was neither right nor indeed in consonance with Becket's own character. Luxurious it may be, but open-handed and generous always was the archbishop, and it would not have been to his mind to let such wealth be idle when there were poor to be succoured and distress to be relieved. Such too was the mind of Henry VIII, at least as regards the lying idle! and so at last the heavy hand of the Tudor came down. In 1538, if report be true, the Archbishop was condemned as a

traitor, his title of Saint denied to him, his shrine and offerings seized to the crown to the tune of some twenty-six cartloads, his images destroyed, his very name erased and "avoided" from books and calendars throughout the land. The thoroughness with which all this was carried out is astonishing, and to-day it is comparatively rare to find either his name or any representation of him in church or document. That for some time past people had come to disbelieve in such relic worship there can be little doubt, as witness the falling off in offerings, and the visit of Erasmus and Dean Colet in 1513, while Cranmer gave it as his opinion that the Saint's blood as supplied in the little ampullae or bottles to the pilgrims was "but a fayned thing and made of some redde okar"!

At the top of the steps are two of the wonderful stained glass windows portraying the miracles of the Saint, but, as the glass of the Cathedral is separately treated later on, nothing further need be said here. A little farther on to the left is the extraordinarily fine tomb of Edward the Black Prince, the beau ideal of English chivalry. In 1376, contrary to the terms of his will which arranged for his burial in the Chapel of Our Lady in the crypt, he was buried with much pomp in this place of honour near the shrine of St. Thomas. Here stands the marble altar tomb with enamelled shields on the sides bearing alternately the arms of England, and his three feathers with words "Houmont" and "Ich Dien," about the meaning of which there has been some controversy. A

latten top with bevelled edge bearing a long inscription in Norman French contrasting his former high estate with his present nothingness carries the life-sized effigy of the Prince armed *cap-a-pie* and with his head resting on his chapeau with the leopard thereon all of the same metal beautifully executed and well preserved except that it has lost its gilding. The whole is surrounded by a fine iron grille, c.1400, ornamented with his cognizance of the leopard's head. Above is a flat wooden canopy with a painting now much decayed of the Holy Trinity, from which the Holy Dove is missing, on whose day the Prince died and whom he held in especial veneration. In the corners are the symbols of the four evangelists. From the beam above the tester hang the achievements consisting of: (1) helmet and its crest, a leopard on a cap of maintenance; (2) the jupon or surcoat; (3) the shield; (4) the scabbard with a buckle and part of its belt; and (5) the gauntlets. These have been exhaustively studied by Sir W. H. St. J. Hope in "Vetusta Monumenta," and his conclusion is that the objects are all much too light, as well as indifferently made, to have ever been used in battle. The surcoat bears the arms of England which are not, as the heralds say, "differenced with a label" as they should be for the king's son, except perhaps at the back where traces remain, although the jupon on the figure itself shows the



BADGE OF
BLACK PRINCE

label properly added. The repetition of the arms on the sleeves is very unusual. It is made of blue and red velvet with the fleur de lys and leopards sewn down separately. Comparatively recently it underwent repairs and was glued on to the modern leather lining to help preserve it. The gauntlets are of latten gilt. On each knuckle there were formerly small lions which, under the attentions of earlier antiquarians, have all disappeared except one specimen which has found its way back to the Dean and Chapter and may be seen in the Cathedral library. The shields are of light wood covered with successive layers of canvas, gesso, paper, and leather, with the fleur de lys and leopards embossed and nailed on separately. No label on the arms appears. The sword belt is of linen cloth. The sword itself is said to have been taken away by Oliver Cromwell, of which there is no proof, while the story of the Manchester saddler of the eighteenth century given by Dean Stanley in his appendix to the Black Prince's will is just possible and makes most extraordinary reading.

Here then lies at rest one of the most popular of England's military heroes surrounded with his insignia of war on a tomb which is one of the best examples of its kind in the country. Whether or not the words "Houmont" and "Ich Dien" really mean "High Spirit" and "I Serve," they well express the life and character of a Prince who, while yet a boy, could defeat the flower of the French army and in the hour of victory could still think it no shame to wait himself upon his royal captive. His death, due to disease acquired

during his expedition in Spain, must have been a heavy blow to the nation for it opened the way to the throne for a man of a very different calibre.

Adjoining to the east is the Purbeck marble and alabaster tomb of Archbishop Wm. Courtenay, d. 1396, with niches and hooks for nine statues on either side and surrounded by a very similar grille to that round the Black Prince. This is yet another case where much ink has flowed in written debate over the question whether this primate was buried at Maidstone in accordance with his will or here in the Cathedral. From the Register G. *Acta Sede Vacante* in the Cathedral archives the claim of Canterbury now seems justified. Mr. Beazeley has pointed out that the indecent haste with which his successor was appointed—even before Courtenay was buried!—was probably due to King Richard II's desire to have an archbishop available for his immediately impending marriage with the French King's daughter.

Opposite on the south is the beautiful yet simple casket shaped tomb of Archbishop Hubert Walter, d. 1205, at one time wrongly attributed to Archbishop Theobald. In 1890 the tomb was opened and the figure of the primate with a leaden plate bearing his name was found dressed in full pontificals with pastoral staff, chalice, and paten by his side. Everything that was of silk was well preserved. His mitre of early squarish type, buskins, and orphreys from his vestments are now in the library, while the staff, chalice, paten, sandals, silver gilt pins for fastening on the pall as also the leaden weights for keeping down the

ends of the same (even used thus in modern days) are to be seen in Henry IV's chantry chapel. The staff is of wood with its silver-gilt knop ornamented

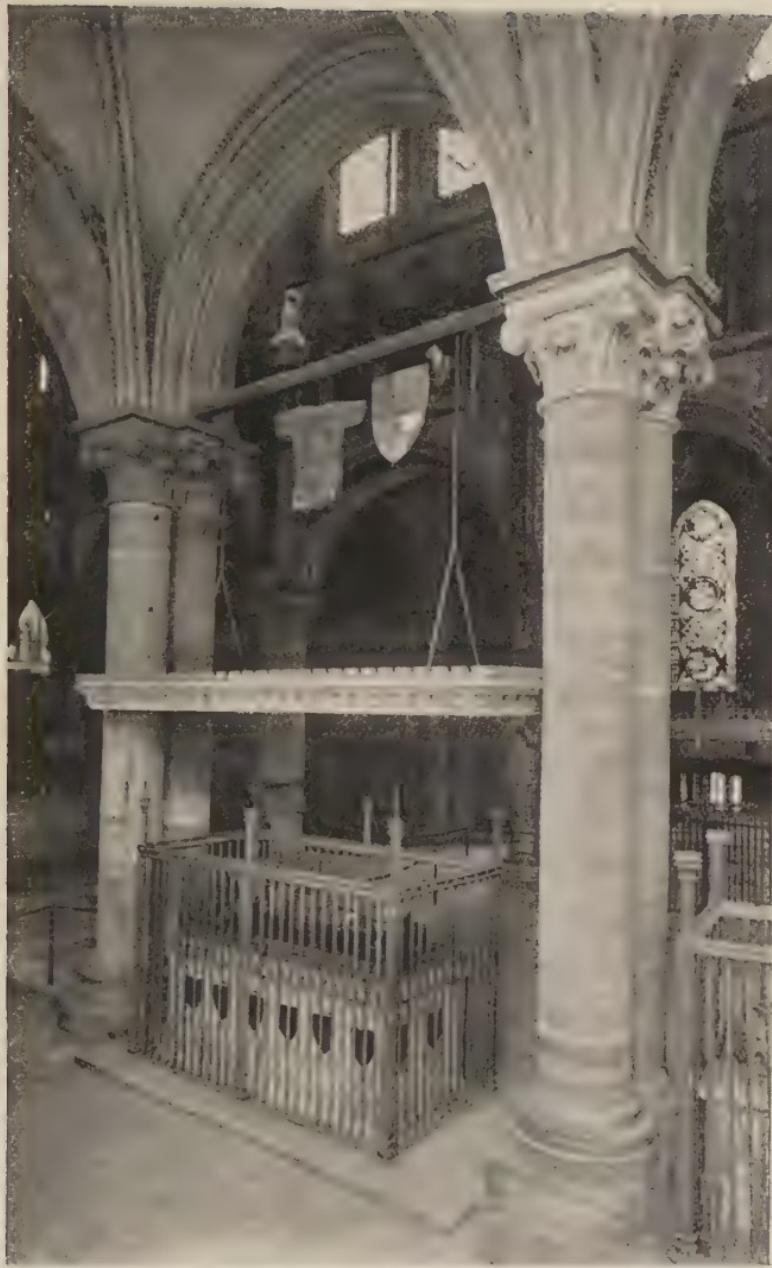


PALL PINS

THE CHALICE

THE STAFF

with four Gnostic gems, the crook being dotted over with what look like little rivets used possibly for holding in place metal bosses or bands or other articles for decorative purposes. The staff also



Photograph

[Ackland & Youngman.

TOMB OF THE BLACK PRINCE

shows signs of having had a band of some kind twisted spirally around it. Noticeable also is the presence on the embroidery of that almost universal symbol of all ages—the swastika or Fylfot cross. The chalice is of a pleasing design with a handsome foot and the paten bears in the centre the Agnus Dei and round the edge the following inscription :

*Ara crucis tumuliq; calix lapidisq; patena
Sindonis officium candida bissus habet.*

The late Canon Holland to whom is due the refitting of St. Anselm's Chapel, for early celebrations, and the discovery of the wall painting of St. Paul, thus translates this couplet :

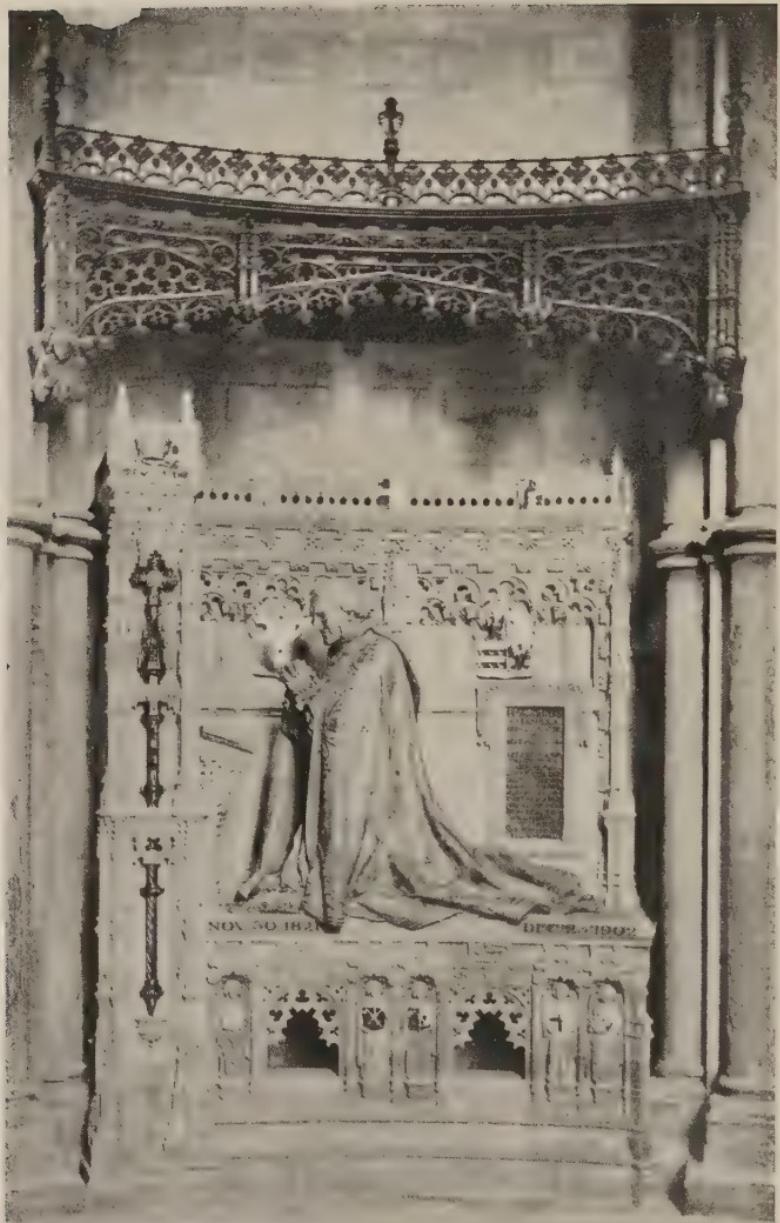
“ The Altar duly to our eyes brings the cross of sacrifice,
“ So the Chalice' fruitful womb is the emblem of the tomb,
“ And the Paten thereupon shows the sealed sepulchral
stone,
“ Whilst the Corporal o'er the Bread is the napkin at the
Head.”

In passing it may be noted that Messrs. Woodruff and Danks give the first word of the second line as “ stridonis ” but this is not correct as inspection of the paten will show. From an archaeological point of view these objects are of immense interest, for a twelfth century chalice and paten are rare indeed while the buskins and sandals, according to Sir W. H. St. John Hope, are, with the much later specimens of Bishop Waynflete at Magdalen College, Oxford, the only English examples known. But on the other hand the absolute rifling of the tomb, even although careful drawings were made of the contents (see “ *Vetusta Monumenta* ”) amply

sufficient for purposes of record, seems rather improper and more or less unnecessary.

Next door to Archbishop Courtenay in its plainest of plain brick and cement is the direct antithesis to the sometime gorgeous shrine. This simple memorial is to Odo Coligny, Cardinal of Châtillon and brother of the famous French admiral. Suspected of leanings towards Huguenot principles he fled to England in 1568 where he died three years later of, it is said, poison, given by one of his servants in an apple. The general opinion is that, at the time, it was expected that his body would be taken back to France and therefore no necessity arose to spend much money on his tomb, but the disturbed state of France in those days never allowed of his return and so the tomb has remained thus poor and bare unto this day. Opposite is another fine glass window of which more later.

Round the corner is found waiting for us, "Becket's Crown" or the "puzzle of Canterbury" as Mr. Bond liked to call it. Here in this circular chapel the lightness and delicacy of William the Englishman's work is very apparent in the narrow bays with slender detached marble shafts for piers and a dainty triforium, while the advance in the style of architecture is still more evident from the fact that practically the only evidences of Norman influence to be seen at all are the square abacus and the zigzag ornament. On the south side is the fine modern cenotaph of Archbishop W. Temple, d. 1902, of Cornish granite designed by Mr. W. D. Caroe, F.S.A. with a magnificently



Photograph]

[Ackland & Youngman.

ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE

modelled kneeling figure by Mr. F. W. Pomeroy, R.A. (v. opposite). The gilded primatial cross and enamelled coats of arms just give the bright touch to relieve the chill ruggedness of the grey stonework. Overhead is the elaborately carved wooden canopy, and the whole is a good example of what can be done in these days by sound design and workmanship. On the same side under the window is a plain step which marks the position of the former shrine of St. Odo, while the similar step opposite adorned with four sunk quatrefoils does the same duty for that of St. Wilfrid. Opposite Archbishop Temple is the tomb of Cardinal Pole, d. 1558, above which on the wall was formerly a painting, c. 1475, depicting St. Christopher. This was partially covered, *temp.* Elizabeth, with a further painting of an altar tomb with cherubs and a Jehovah in Hebrew characters *en soleil*, and below this a ceiled room with windows and cherubs holding a cardinal's hat. All are now gone and their place taken by a modern panel bearing the archbishop's arms presented by Cardinal Vaughan. Here and there on the walls, especially on the window jambs, may be seen the last traces of the Phoenixes rising from flames with which the walls were formerly powdered. At the extreme east is a raised platform with some well preserved mediaeval tiles and also a little more mosaic work in, apparently, ordinary stone. Upon this stands the famous archbishop's chair. This is made of Purbeck marble in three parts which some would like to date back to St. Augustine, but the material seems rather against the theory and

perhaps, if we may accept Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite's opinion that the design is Italian, his suggestion that it may be the work of Peter the Roman citizen who was in England in 1280 is nearer the mark. In this chair all the archbishops are now



BECKET'S CROWN

enthroned. In Ernulph's day the patriarchal chair, after the earlier Roman custom, stood raised on a few steps behind the High Altar (see his plan, A), but according to Gervase it was all of one piece to which description the present chair will not answer.

The object of the raised platform upon which the chair now stands brings up the whole question as to the reason for this building and its name of "Becket's Crown." Two points of view are clearly defined, one that it is a purely architectural feature, the other that the word Crown refers not to the building itself but to some relic connected with St. Thomas which it contained. Professor Willis favoured the former theory and was of opinion that "corona" was the chief and principal apse in a church, quoting in support the glossary of



Photograph

[*Photochrom Co.*

ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHAIR

Ducange and the church of La Charité sur Loire, where two altars in a deed of 1170 are mentioned as being *in coronâ ecclesiae*. He goes on to say that the corona "may also mean the aisle (ambulatory) which often circumscribes the east end of an apsidal church and which with its radiating chapels may be said to crown its extremity." Another architect of equal note, Monsieur Viollet le Duc, also thought the same and in his "Dictionnaire Raisonné," Vol. II, p. 350, says definitely that Becket's Crown reproduces the original apse at Sens, not only in plan but in construction. This, however, he does not prove, mainly because the original east end of Sens, built 1130-65, was unfortunately burnt down in 1184 and not re-erected until 1230. However, he then goes on to produce (p. 352) what to most will seem much stronger evidence in the shape of the completely preserved crypt, c.1030, of the original Cathedral of Auxerre. This shows an east end with its ambulatory or procession path from which a solitary little apsidal chapel projects to the east, in fact Becket's Crown in embryo! Again (p. 346) he refers to a later example, viz. the Cathedral of Langres, the quire of which, dating from the second half of the twelfth century, also has the ambulatory from which juts out at the extreme east end a single rectangular chapel with an apse. Here then Viollet le Duc shows ample precedent for Canterbury's peculiarity, and although the places he mentions are actually in Champagne he considers them to be examples of what he calls the Burgundian style as opposed to that of the

Ile de France. A further partial supporter of Willis is Eadmer who, in his Hist. Nov., Vol. II, mentions Archbishop Anselm's seat in a church council being placed *in corona*. This, however, might be interpreted in more than one way and is therefore weak evidence. In the opposite camp was Mr. Albert Way, who, quoting Cathedral archives of 1314, showed that heavy expenses for gold and jewels *pro corona Sancti Thome* were then incurred and argued truly that this could hardly refer to the building itself but rather to "some precious object connected with the cultus of St. Thomas of Canterbury." He thought that the raised platform seemed not to have so much to do with an altar as with some object of veneration displayed behind an iron railing of which he thought he found traces in the pavement. Canon Robertson opined that Becket's main skull was kept in the crypt and that the severed corona or crown of the skull was perhaps transferred in 1314 to the chapel above, but as he also says that the first mention of the "corona" is in the Treasurer's accounts for 1207 it is impossible to believe that the building was first so called from an object apparently only put in it a hundred years later! That some relic was kept in this place seems pretty certain, possibly something that purported to be the top of the skull, kept in a reliquary in the shape of a gilded head or bust such as may be seen in any Cathedral treasury abroad. The explanation may therefore be that, whereas in the first place it was merely an architectural feature commonly known as a

[Ackland & Youngman.

KING HENRY IV AND JOAN

Photograph]



"corona," it may afterwards have become mixed up in vulgar parlance with the relic, whatever it may have been, and so, instead of being called the Crown of the church it came to be the Crown of Becket. When the Shrine was swept away the Commissioners, who had viewed the body at the time of removal, gave it as their considered opinion that the so-called head in the Crown was spurious and had it burnt.

On the north side of the Trinity Chapel is the tomb of Dean Wotton, the first dean of the new foundation under Henry VIII and the prototype of the Vicar of Bray! A first rate lawyer and diplomatist in secular matters, and the trusted emissary of each sovereign under whom he lived, he used his genius also in matters spiritual with the result that, amid all the changes between Henry VIII and Elizabeth, Nicolas Wotton skilfully retained his positions as Dean, both of Canterbury and York! Hence it was said of him, as a Doctor both of Theology and Law, that, "This was he who lived Doctor of both Laws and died Doctor of both Gospels!" The design of the tomb is Renaissance in character and with the pedestal behind has a curious effect. The kneeling figure of the Dean is very finely carved and the contemporary iron grille with leaves at the corners and a typical pierced pattern of the period along the top rail is also worthy of note.

Immediately to the west is the beautiful tomb of King Henry IV, d. 1413, and his second wife, Joan of Navarre, d. 1437, "most artificially done in alabaster." The figure of the King is especially

well preserved showing him clothed in a dalmatic with embroidered border and a slit at the side for a pocket (v. opposite p. 70). On his shoulders he wears a richly decorated mantle with a large morse or clasp in front and upon his head a magnificent crown of oak leaves and fleur de lys, a copy probably of the real one of which he was so fond that, when on his death-bed, he had it placed upon his pillow! The queen wears a similar crown and is clothed in that queer garment the cote hardie which was open at the sides. At her feet are two scaly creatures with claws and little ears. Both figures wore the "SS" collar. On the underside of the rather mutilated wooden canopy are coats of arms of England, France, Evreux, and Navarre, with the "SS" badge and King's motto "Soverayne" everywhere on the background and round the cornice those of various noble families including Ros, Despencer, Grey, Vere, Neville, and others. At the foot and head are undecipherable paintings, a copy of the latter taken from J. Carter's "Ancient Sculpture and Painting" hangs on the pillar close by and depicts the murder of Becket. In 1832 the usual question had come to be raised as to whether the King was really buried there or not because a contemporary account by one Clement Maydeston had asserted the contrary, telling grim tales of how the King's body had been thrown overboard during a gale while on its way to Canterbury by sea via Faversham. The tomb was therefore opened and the perfectly preserved body of the King with the "beard thick and matted and of a deep

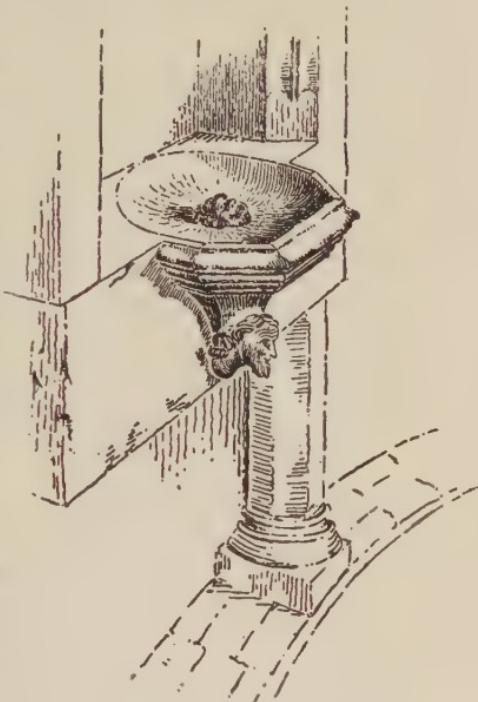
"russet colour" was exposed to view and then covered up again. On the opposite side of the aisle is the little chapel founded in accordance with Henry IV's wish and dedicated to Edward the Confessor in 1439 wherein "twey prestis" (two priests) were to say masses for his soul. The roof is the earliest specimen of fan vaulting in the Cathedral. In the west wall are the relics of Archbishop Hubert Walter already mentioned and on the east wall are the hooks, formerly supporting statues, and an interesting scratching relating to the cost of certain images. A few more roundels after the same style as those before referred to are kept here but much worn away.

Descending the steps a gate on the left leads into a low vaulted chamber under the high altar. The foundations and side walls up to about eighteen inches above the floor may be Ernulph's work but the vaulting of the two compartments of which the chamber is composed are evidently the work of one of the Williams, presumably the second, as appears by the masons' marks and also on the ground that the top of the vault has to carry on the level of the Trinity Chapel which we have seen was the work of the Englishman. That the vaulting is in any case later is clearly shown by the fact that the transverse arches and diagonal ribs do not by any means fit properly on to the dwarf piers from which they spring, being in some instances half on and half off. The southern compartment has ribs with three plain roll mouldings, that to the north has the same but of smaller diameter to allow of the insertion of a line

of dog tooth ornament in the fold on either side (see Willis, Fig. 34, p. 90). On the floor are some more mediaeval tiles. Originally used for housing the more specially precious relics and valuables, it was handed over to the Sacrist at the time of the Dissolution and then appears in the records as the "Wexhouse" from the fact that it was here that he made and kept the candles. To this day there remain two wooden beams with pegs sticking out on either side from which his candles hung. The regular time for starting to light up in the Cathedral was All Saints' Day and this was continued until Candlemas (February 2nd). The office of Sacrist was often combined with that of the organist in the eighteenth century, and in the year 1713 was filled by one Mr. Henstridge. When it came to distributing to the Cathedral staff their recognized quantum of candles this gentleman, as a smart man of business, proceeded to put candles size ten instead of size six in the stalls of the Prebendaries whereby he contrived to save seventeen pounds weight, which he afterwards coolly claimed as a perquisite, but without success! To-day the chamber is the lay clerks' vestry.

Beyond, on the left, is the fine tomb of Archbishop Thomas Bourchier, or "Thome Bowshir" as the old chroniclers have it, d. 1486, ornamented with a knot, the family badge. In the next bay is the cenotaph of Archbishop Howley, d. 1848, to make room for which part of Eastry's screen was calmly pulled down and re-erected at the entrance to St. Andrew's Chapel on the

right. Practically untouched except for a little renewal of the arcading in the apse this chapel is the pure work of Ernulph throughout and gives that satisfying sense of massive dignity and quiet repose which must always be associated with early Norman work. The sole addition of a later date, for which we may indeed be grateful to the latter half of the fourteenth century, is the charming little piscina here illustrated which has been inserted into the arcading at the southern side. The leopard's head boss in the centre pierced round the edge in four or five places to act as a drain is strangely reminiscent of the Black Prince's badge as shown on the grille round his tomb. Here too are quite considerable traces of Conrad's



THE PISCINA

wall decoration to give some faint idea of what the Cathedral must have looked like with its red and white striped ribs, broad bands of the same colour on the walls and its powdered stars and patterns of conventional foliage in the vaults and other spaces. Leading out of the chapel

is the fine room known as the Treasury, or Vestiarium, to which reference has already been made. If the interior will be found to be less ornate, it is on the other hand more interesting from an architectural point of view. The latest and most authoritative work on this room is the technical article by Mr. J. Bilson, F.S.A., in Vol. LXXIV of the "Archaeological Journal," wherein he points out that the vault is divided into eight parts and that the diagonal ribs are not arcs of a single circle but are of a composite curve, apparently struck from three different centres. These, he says, are pure Norman methods of constructing such vaults just before the introduction of the pointed arch disposed of many of their difficulties. He goes on to remark that the details here are later than anything of Ernulph and even than the upper stages of the turrets of St. Andrew and St. Anselm which are not known to have been finished before 1130, and, after comparison with these and the Lavatory Tower, he is inclined to give the years c.1150-55 as the probable date of the Treasury. The capital with four men's heads is curious and the keystone of the vault with its four small lions' heads within a conventionally foliated circle is very pleasing. In old days this room and St. Andrew's Chapel were used as the vestry where were kept the archives together with the vestments, plate, and other articles for the services of the church. On the suppression of the monastery in 1540, these rooms referred to as "thinner and utter vestry," i.e. the inner and the outer vestry, were continued

in their old office which they perform to this day.

Just before reaching the north-east transept a largish recess is to be seen in the wall, probably an old press for service books but now half filled up with a shelf made in 1541 on which is placed a Bible from the Library to act as a substitute for Cranmer's "Great Bible" put there in that year by royal command. The transept is on similar lines to that on the south side. In the northern apse, dedicated to St. Martin, is the curious painting on wood of Queen Ediva, stepmother of Athelstane and mother of Edmund and Eldred. It has the appearance of being Flemish work, and from the mode of dressing her hair in puffs at the side covered with a net would seem to date about A.D. 1400. The "good Queen" is represented as wearing a crown, a pearl jewel and a red mantle with cape and lining of ermine held together in front by a rich morse or clasp. In her hand is a sceptre. By her side is a small figure with bow and arrows and in the background a view of Birchington-on-Sea with a fleet of ships. Beneath are the following lines :

Edina the good Queene and noble mother
To Ethelstane, Edmund, and Eldred,
Kinges of England every each after other,
To Christs Church of Canterbury did give indeed
Monketon and Thorndenn, the monkes there to feede,
Mepham, Cleeve, Cowlinge, Osterland,
East Farlengh and Lenham, as we beeleeve
The yeare Dom^o. MLXI of Christ's Incarnation.—I.P.F.

The three letters at the end presumably refer to the artist, but the only two men who were artists

and whose initials are known to suit, viz.: John Pikenot (early thirteenth century) and Johannis Pictor (early fourteenth century) hardly seem late enough for the painting. The Queen lies buried in this apse, her remains having been placed here as soon as the building was finished. Above, on the wall, are two mediaeval scratchings, that on the north is "Ediva Regina" and that on the south "Lanfranc." On the north wall of this transept are four slits or hagioscopes, two of which look on to the two apses. These were made, c.1500, with a little chamber behind them for the use of the Prior, who had direct access from his private chapel so that he might join in the services or keep an eye upon the Cathedral. Immediately opposite is the rather curious tomb of Archbishop Chicheley, d. 1443, "lately newly refreshed and revived at the charges of the college of All Souls in Oxford" as says a seventeenth century manuscript. These words can, however, be repeated with truth about every fifty years, for the college, which he founded, at Oxford in remorse, it is said, for having urged on the war with France, regularly sees to it that the tomb is kept in good repair. Its strange appearance like a lintel and two doorposts is due to the desire not to obstruct the light into the quire from the north side more than was necessary. The enamelled coats of arms of the various sees of the southern province round the sides of the marble tomb, together with the generous painting and gilding, all combine to give a very rich effect. The figures in the niches are of modern Italian workmanship, and the nose and tips of the fingers

of the recumbent archbishop have been restored. Below is the cadaver or corpse to draw a comparison between his former estate as exemplified by his figure above in full pontificals with his present condition. A wrought iron grating with a cresting of alternate star-shaped and fleur de lys ornament protects the tomb on the north side. This is a case of a tomb being built in the lifetime of the person to be commemorated for it was begun soon after Henry V's death and finished by 1425.

The decayed wall painting, c.1475, on the aisle wall at the corner depicts the story of St. Eustace who, similarly to St. Hubert, was converted while hunting by meeting his quarry, a white stag with Our Lord hanging crucified between its horns. But whereas the latter became a bishop and died, c.727, in the odour of sanctity, the former, after many harassing adventures and anxieties over his family, was martyred with his wife and children by being burned in a brazen bull which tragic event can still be partly deciphered at the top under the arch.

On leaving the quire aisle we pass under an archway with canopied niches of late fifteenth century. On each side of the doorway are two unknown coats of arms (1) three chevronels between three buckles, and (2) a chevron chequy, the former of which occurs also in the cloister vault.

We have now arrived at the most romantic spot in all the Cathedral, the north-west transept or Martyrdom as it is called. In these days it is hard to conjure up any idea of the original appearance of the place where the desperate deed

was wrought, but it may be a little help to remember that the bottom portion of the turret staircase on the north-west corner still mutely testifies that it looked upon the tragedy of that dark December afternoon. On referring to the plan of Lanfranc's church (p. 10) it will be remembered that his transept was divided into two stories the supporting pillar of which appears in the plan. The pillar is important because it was against this that Becket took his stand. He was not kneeling before any altar as has been sometimes said, the nearest altar being that of St. Benedict in the apse, a little distance away. So often has the tale been told, and by none so vividly and well as by Dean Stanley, that it is scarcely necessary here to do more than call to mind how that, on December 29, 1170, the four knights, Fitzurse, Le Breton, de Tracy, and de Morville, had an angry interview with Becket, how that going away and returning armed they attacked the palace, how the Archbishop was pushed and pulled protesting along the north and east walks of the cloister through the door into the north-west transept and partly up the stairs to the quire with the would-be murderers close upon his heels. To the shout of "Where is Thomas Becket the archbishop, traitor to the King?" comes the proud reply, "Here am I, no traitor but archbishop and priest of God!" and so, as he meets his adversaries with his back to the pillar of the chapel, fierce and fiercer words are hurled from one to the other until the words become blows and the huge frame of the archbishop sinks slowly to the ground the while he commends

[Photochrom Co.]

THE MARTYRDOM

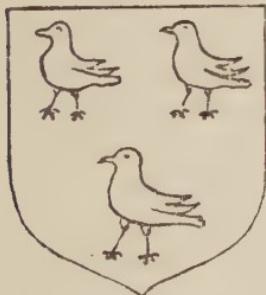
Photograph



his soul to God, and his enemies, crying, "Ferez ! Ferez !" (Strike ! Strike !) rain blows thick and fast upon his head. Then when the last hideous deed is done and Hugh of Horsea has scattered the brains upon the pavement, the murderers, with shouts of "Réaulx ! Réaulx !" (King's men !) upon their lips, rush from the desecrated church, plunder the palace, and make off. Such in very brief is the story ever fresh and thrilling with which this transept will always fire the imagination. Tradition, prompted doubtless by the monks, would have us believe that the four knights were for the rest of their lives accursed and that in their efforts to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in part expiation of their crime the wind always blew against them, thus giving rise to the saying, "All the Tracys have the wind in their faces," or, in other words, crime always meets with its punishment. As a matter of fact history shows us that it was otherwise, as de Morville for example was a large landowner in the north and is afterwards found filling official positions under the King, while there is nothing to support the monkish tradition. If it be asked whether there is anything left at all of the original site of the murder, the answer must be that it is exceedingly doubtful. It is true that the stone is pointed out with a square piece removed, which is traditionally said to have been taken with some bloodstained scraps to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome as relics ; but very careful search by Dr. Rock and others has failed to find the piece of stone and, seeing that the tradition is only first heard

of about a century ago, little reliance can be placed upon it. Indeed the general opinion is that all the present pavement is of later date. What is much more certain is that the Norman plinth of the wall below Archdeacon Chapman's mural monument has been cut about and the ends of the adjacent steps left rough, denoting that here was the Altar ad Punctum Ensis, or the Sword's Point, which was afterwards put up with the broken point upon it of Richard le Breton's sword with which he dealt the last and most fatal blow to the head of the prostrate archbishop. The pillar against which Becket leant disappeared of course at the rebuilding in the fifteenth century, when the whole transept was thrown open from top to bottom. The staircase turret already referred to is Norman work right up to the top, where it has been sloped backwards to give room for the moulding of the Perpendicular window. When the crowds of pilgrims to the scene became too great, the wall holding up the lower flight of steps out of the Martyrdom was continued by Prior Chillenden northwards and then turned off to join up in the angle by the staircase so that the monks might have free and quiet access to the quire from the cloister entrance. In it was an opening known as the Red Door, to be used by the monks when necessary, the bolt-holes of which can be seen in the pavement to this day for it was not removed until 1734. Under the great window are two tombs, that to the west being of Archbishop John Peckham, d. 1292, with a typical Decorated cusped and ogeed canopy, similar to those of

Edmund Crouchback and Aymer de Valence in Westminster Abbey, covering a flat tomb with nine figures in its side and on which lies the wooden effigy of the archbishop. It is rather curious that more than one old MS. refers to this as being the tomb or the figure of John Ufford, the archbishop who died of the plague in 1348. But although the wooden figure certainly does not seem to fit the slab satisfactorily, it seems pretty clear nevertheless that it represents Peckham because he is shown wearing the pall fixed on his shoulders and in front to the chasuble beneath by three pall pins with heads of fleur de lys whereas Ufford never lived to get to Rome and receive his pall, but was buried hastily and without ceremony somewhere in this transept. It is possible that the tomb itself is not that of Peckham. The monument to the east is that of Archbishop Warham, d. 1532, which suffered a good deal in 1796 at the hands of



ARMS OF BECKET

ARMS OF
ARCHBISHOP WARHAM

"restorers," who added Becket's arms (three Cornish choughs) without any authority. The other coat, a fess between a goat's head erased

in chief and three cockle shells in base belonged to Warham. This is another case of a tomb being built in the lifetime of the person intended to occupy it for there is a record in 1507 of the altar being dedicated by the Prior of Dover. A little chantry chapel was formerly attached on the north outside, the traces of which were pointed out when going round on the outside. This, unfortunately, was also "restored" away!

This transept originally had an apse to the east, with an altar to St. Benedict, but this was replaced in 1449-55 by Prior Goldston I with the present chapel dedicated in honour of Our Lady and St. Benedict in which he himself lies buried. It now goes by the name of the Deans' Chapel on account of a number of deans, including Rogers, Bargrave, Boys, and Fotherby, being buried within it. The fan vault is of the rather usual design but, as Mr. F. E. Howard points out, the avoidance of the difficulty of fitting the windows into the lunettes by means of a broad splay decorated with quatrefoils is neat and clever. The glass in the east window will be dealt with later. It may be noted that this chapel also is not parallel with the quire aisle but goes off to the north at a slight angle. The stone screen at the entrance is of fine workmanship and the wrought iron gateway with the arms of the Dean and Chapter dates from about the middle of the eighteenth century. The vault of this transept is of a date a good deal later than the rest as will be seen from the coats of arms upon it, e.g. the punning arms of Prior Oxney, 1468-71, those of

John Russell impaled by the See of Rochester, of which he became bishop in 1476, and those of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, brother of Edward IV, Lord High Admiral and afterwards King Richard III. Above the vaulting which is littered thickly on top with sticks and twigs brought in by jackdaws is a fine queen-post roof.

Turning round the corner by Archdeacon Chapman's monument and passing under a fine Early English arch there will be noticed on the right a curious diaper pattern on the wall with interlacing strands. That this is the fancy of Ernulph is almost certain seeing that it is to be found in the chapter house at Rochester of which see he afterwards became bishop. A few steps farther on a very fine late Norman door, with zigzag ornament, scale pattern, and other designs, together with a Purbeck marble shaft, gives entrance to the crypt—a structure of its kind without a peer in England (v. opposite p. 88). The part first seen is entirely the work of Ernulph, c. 1100, except the carving on the pillars which is about fifty or sixty years later, and is notable for the great width (16 ft. 4 in.) of the vaults which, in his day, were generally much narrower owing to lack of experience and skill in building. Not being unduly sunk below the level of the ground it has been possible to admit an unusual amount of light by which, both pictorially and otherwise, the crypt gains tremendously. The beautiful play of light and dark and the deep shadows against which some finely wrought pillar stands out boldly, caught maybe by the setting sun, invest this place

with a perennial fascination, whether it be seen with bright clear cut shafts of light piercing the obscurity or at the close of day when the shadows, gathering strength, begin to swallow up the details and all becomes ghostly and mysterious.

Sharp round on the right is the western wall which holds great possibilities. Built of very rough rubble with thin bricks and bits of flint interspersed, and formerly covered with a fine white plaster traces of which are still to be found behind Ernulph's westernmost vaulting shafts, it is evident that it existed before his day. Towards the top of the wall is a quantity of fine masonry in smallish square blocks, making no pretence to bonding in with the lower part, which some have been disposed to attribute to Lanfranc, but if masons' marks go for anything there is little doubt but that it is the work of Ernulph. If this then be allowed, the bottom portion of this wall may be either Lanfranc's work or, so rough and ready as it is, it may not unreasonably be pushed back farther still in time and before us may stand the sole remaining scrap of the old Anglo-Saxon Cathedral. It will have been noticed that the crypt is narrower here, and probably represents the width of Lanfranc's building. On the side walls about three feet from the west a vertical joint shows clearly where the rough rubble work ends and large heavy blocks with widish jointing have been added at the corner presumably by Ernulph, as Professor Willis also thought to be the case.

The capitals of this crypt are an extraordinarily fine series of very excellent late Norman carving

dating somewhere about seventy years later than the crypt itself. All are well worth very careful inspection. The flutings and other ornamentation of the monolithic shafts are very pleasing, while the rich variety and fantastic imagination disclosed by the carver are at once a cause of surprise and amusement. A little distance away on the right is the capital well known to readers of architectural books as being always quoted to prove that this carving was done after the capital was in position and at a later date, as already pointed out. Canon Robertson was the first to suggest with great probability the true reason why this carving was never completed. On examination it will be noticed that it is only the capitals and shafts *alternately* of these pillars which are decorated. Where the shaft is fluted or otherwise, the capital is plain except in three instances where it bears the very minimum of ornamentation (see illustration), and where the capital is carved the shaft is invariably plain. In the case of the partly carved capital, it is the turn of the shaft to be



CRYPT PILLAR

adorned, and therefore he thought that the carver made a mistake, began his work on the wrong capital and as soon as his error was discovered was stopped from going further. It is worth noting that this same trick of ornamenting alternate capital and shaft appears again externally on the arcading in the south face of the south-east transept.



THE AMPHISBAENA

The capital next illustrated portrays a double headed figure seated on what seems to be an amphisbaena with scaly neck. The creature sits on a saddle with a fringe facing what would ordinarily be the tail end and with its foot in a stirrup. In this

Mr. G. C. Druce, M.A., who

has made the study of mediaeval bestiaries particularly his own, would see a strong Scandinavian influence.

In the northern aisle, about opposite to the pillar with the unfinished capital, a thin semi-circular line of metal has been let into the floor to mark the position of one of the apses of Lanfranc's crypt, the foundations of which were discovered here about thirty years ago. Although there is no similar mark in the nave and south aisle it is on record that in the former at any rate similar foundations were revealed which go to prove the accuracy of Willis's conjectural eastern end of Lanfranc's work. Of the two transept crypts that on the north is in practically its



Photograph

[Photochrom Co.

ERNULPH'S CRYPT : WESTWARD VIEW



Photograph

[Ackland & Youngman.

CRYPT : LADY CHAPEL

original condition except for one noticeable feature, namely, the central pillar which has a round abacus with stiff leaf foliage and is therefore presumably an insertion by William the Englishman. That on the south is, however, very different, for here the Norman work has received a skin of fourteenth century masonry all over so that it is completely altered in appearance. This was done by the Black Prince in 1363 at the bidding of the Pope who had made this a condition when granting the Prince a dispensation to marry Joan, "the Fair Maid of Kent," his relative within the prohibited degrees. The boss near the door portraying a somewhat stodgy looking damsel with the then curious fashion in hair dressing with a net is generally said to represent the object of the Prince's affection! Upon another boss appear his arms and on another again the figure of Samson with an ass's head (Judges xv. 16), possibly alluding to the Prince's overwhelming victory in 1356 over the French at Poictiers. These chapels he endowed with the manor of Fawkes Hall, otherwise Vauxhall, in London, the grant of which, with his seal attached, is to be seen in the Cathedral library. This part of the crypt is to-day used as their church by the local foreign Protestants, the descendants of those French-speaking Walloons who came as refugees from north-east France and the Low Countries, during the time of Alva's persecution, to settle in Canterbury. There seems some uncertainty as to dates. Mr. E. Alfred Jones says that the first congregation came in 1548 with J. Uttenhove as pastor, and that they worshipped

in the archbishop's palace. Pastor J. A. Martin, in his account, refers to a grant to them of the crypt by King Edward VI in July, 1550, which, however, cannot be produced. Dispersed under Mary, he says they returned in 1561 and in that year received a formal licence from the Queen to use the crypt, but this licence also does not appear to exist. The first mention of the "Walloon strangers" in the Chapter Act Books is in 1575 when they had licence from the Dean and Chapter to worship in the church of St. Alphege, although they seem to have begun to use the crypt about the same time. Every sovereign up to Charles II renewed the licence, the grant of the last named making reference to that of Edward VI. In 1574 they had an agreement with the Mayor of Canterbury by which they were allowed to make bays and cloths after the Flanders fashion together with all sorts of laces and buttons, but they were not permitted to make cloths or kersies after the English style. It is commonly said that "Ernulph's crypt was the home of the loom and the shuttle" but there is no foundation for this beyond that of tradition. Originally, with a congregation of two thousand, they were allowed to use the whole of the central part of the crypt, but in these latter days, owing to a much diminished congregation, they have taken over instead the south transept crypt. They have a little plate which will be described later.

At the east end of the nave is the Lady Chapel, surrounded by exquisite stone screens, probably the gift of the Black Prince (v. opposite p. 88). They

have a central open framework to which is applied on each face a series of two-light windows with beautiful crocketed canopies now unfortunately much mutilated. The rich twisted pillars and capitals are those of Ernulph except that the latter were recut to match the screens. Not only by reason of these delicate screens but on account of the decoration of the vaulting this chapel in its first beauty must have been a veritable gem. The ceiling is painted blue and powdered over with gilded suns and stars of some composition stuck on afterwards, while the lower parts of the vaulting are covered with numerous coats of arms of benefactors, mostly of the time of Henry VI, painted in somewhat haphazard fashion as and where space allowed. It should be noted that the pair of pillars westward are not ornamented at all, and it is generally supposed that owing to some other screens or railings going across at that point they were hidden from sight and so did not require ornamentation. An entry in the monastic accounts for 1378 says *novum opus. in j nova clausurea ferre* (iron railing or enclosure) *facta circa capellum Beate Marie in criptis l. lib* (£50). A further £6 was spent on the same in the year following. On the floor is the matrix slab of Archbishop Morton's large brass, d. 1500, which must have been a magnificent example in its day, while his tomb lies between two piers in the south arcade whose arch soffit is decorated with panelled work. The orders of the arch contains Tudor badges, his own rebus of a mort, or falcon, on a tun and canopied figures. This primate was chiefly

famous for his connexion with the avaricious King Henry VII's schemes for exacting gifts of money from wealthy citizens. The trick, attributed to him, but perhaps unfairly so, and known as "Morton's Fork," was one whereby he was said to argue that if a man lived luxuriously he was obviously able to pay something to the King and, conversely, that if he lived penitently he must have saved up enough money to be able to assist the King with a "benevolence"—a most unpleasing dilemma out of which it was more than difficult for even a sharp business man to wriggle! Adjoining the south side of the chapel, and unfortunately breaking into the screens, is the little canopied tomb, c.1400, of Lady Mohun, wife of John de Mohun, eighth Baron of Dunster, now much decayed.

In the course of passing down the crypt there will have been noticed two very massive engaged pillars with a clear William of Sens capital added

on to the pier nearest the transept on either side of the centre alley. Two others stand clear in the ambulatory behind the Lady Chapel with somewhat similar capitals but with the addition of a Tau Cross and on the necking a pattern similar to that on the pillar

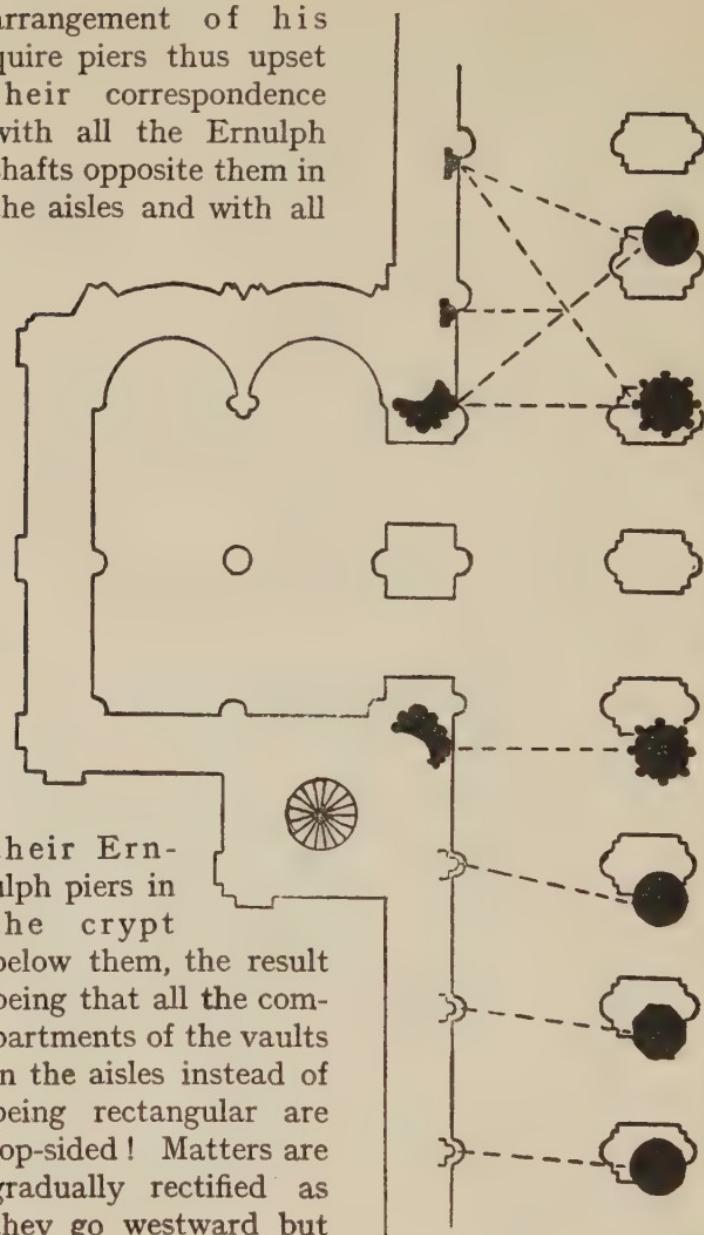
(p. 87). This form of cross on a capital is rare, the other best known example being in



TAU CROSS CAPITAL

St. John's Chapel in the Tower of London. The reason for these obviously additional supports to the quire piers above requires a little explanation. As originally built, the transept openings in the crypt are, and in the church above correspondingly were, exactly the width of two ordinary bays of the side walls, the two bays being opened out to admit of entrance into the transept behind and the pillar left as a support. On the other hand the east and west walls of these transepts both below and on the quire level were each set back a few feet either way, thus making the interiors of the transepts wider than their two bays' breadth into the aisles (this is well seen in the north transept crypt). Ernulph's piers, both of quire and crypt, of course corresponded one immediately above the other. When William of Sens came to rebuild he removed the pillar and wall in and across the transepts above but not in the crypt, thus throwing them open to the quire through their whole height as seen to-day, and re-erected the corner piers to match the wider set out of the east and west walls above mentioned. He then built his quire piers to correspond, but as this meant setting them some three feet away outwards from the site of the old piers, it followed that they no longer coincided exactly with the crypt piers below which had not been altered to fit in with the new arrangement. This involved additional support below which was given by the engaged columns already referred to. It must also be remembered that Ernulph's side wall shafts remained where they were. William's new

arrangement of his quire piers thus upset their correspondence with all the Ernulph shafts opposite them in the aisles and with all

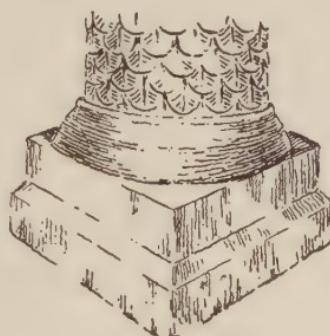
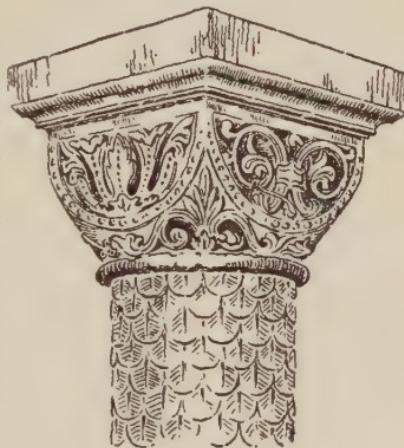


their Ernulph piers in the crypt below them, the result being that all the compartments of the vaults in the aisles instead of being rectangular are lop-sided! Matters are gradually rectified as they go westward but

ERNULPH CRYPT IN OUTLINE, WILLIAM OF SENS'S QUIRE PIERS IN FULL BLACK (WILLIS'S PLAN)

the irregularity is quite evident and easy to understand, when on the spot, although in a verbal description it must sound complicated. An inspection of Willis's elevation (p. 23) will perhaps make things clearer. The piers which stand clear in the ambulatory of the crypt support new ones of William which are outside and beyond Ernulph's scheme altogether.

Beneath St. Andrew's Tower is the well-preserved chapel of the Holy Innocents. The chief feature is the pillar here illustrated which is probably the most beautiful specimen in the crypt. The capital is of finely carved scroll and leaf work of a conventional type and the shaft seems to be intended to represent a covering of pendent overhanging leaves, for, down each "leaf," there runs a noticeable rib with veins or minor ribs branching out on either side. It is certainly different from scale pattern which is a not uncommon late Norman ornament and of which genuine



LEAF PILLAR

examples may be seen, among other places, in the Treasury undercroft, St. Anselm's Chapel, and the external apsidal arcading of the south-east transept.

In the corresponding chapel of St. Gabriel, on the south side, there is a good deal of interest not, unfortunately, very accessible (v. opposite). It will not be forgotten that, when dealing with St. Anselm's Chapel above, it was pointed out how strengthening of walls and arches had had to be done presumably owing to some structural weakness. Here in the crypt below something had also to be done at the same time to support the additional weight above, with the result that the apse was completely walled off from the rest of the chapel. The buried pillar in the wall will be seen in the illustration. Previous to this being done the whole had been covered sometime in about the last half of the twelfth century with some spirited wall paintings. On the piers, flanking the apse, are angels with six wings and "full of eyes" standing on a wheel. In the vault is a rather damaged figure of Our Lord clothed in a blue robe with cruciform nimbus and sitting in a double nimbed vesica or pointed oval. Note particularly that His right hand is not raised in blessing as is usually the case but merely points downwards. On the north wall in two tiers is shown the birth of St. John the Baptist with various episodes, including the dumbness of Zachariah, who is represented without either a mouth or lips. The altar on this side was dedicated to St. Gabriel as it definitely says, in accordance with Archbishop Wulfred's order of 816, that the dedication of



Photograph

[*Photochrom Co.*]

ST. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL



Photograph

[*Photochrom Co.*]

CRYPT OF TRINITY CHAPEL

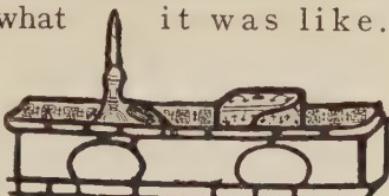
every altar should be set up near to it in writing. On the south side is the Annunciation and Visit to Elizabeth with the altar generally considered to be dedicated to St. John the Baptist, but this is not known for certain. The piscinas on north and south walls are unusual. The pillar in the part available to the public is well worthy of notice, the capital being very quaint and amusing. Traces of painting remain all over the vault here also but are now much decayed. This used formerly to be used by the French church as its vestry. In the north-east corner of this chapel is a simple tomb with the recumbent effigy of a woman upon it which is almost invariably attributed to the Countess of Athol. The tomb is in some disrepair, the slabs having fallen from the sides and exposed the rubble work. J. Dart, in his book, has, however, preserved for us, in an engraving, the coats of arms upon those slabs, viz.: (1) three cinquefoils; (2) a trivet (not the arms of the Isle of Man as some have thought). The late Sir W. H. St. J. Hope, that arch-destroyer of myths, proved quite clearly in Arch. Cant., Vol. XXVII, that Isabel de Chilham, Countess of Athol, who died in 1292, had nothing to do with this tomb. He showed that in Archbishop Chicheley's Register at Lambeth there is the will dated 1421 and proved 1433, of one Elizabeth Tryvet who left legacies to this Cathedral in which she desired to be buried. Her first husband was Sir Thomas Tryvet, Kt., d. 1388, and her second Sir Thomas Swynborne, Kt., probably of Northumberland, whose arms were "per fess gules and argent three cinquefoils the

one of the other," from which it is evident, thanks to the fortunate record of the arms by Dart, that this is the tomb of Lady Swynborne, dating more than one hundred years later than the Countess of Athol. She does not seem to have used the name of Swynborne very much because, even in her will, she is described as the widow of Thomas Tryvet, Kt., although at the time married to another man ! The pleated barbe or chin covering, adopted by elderly ladies although more usually worn by " religious," was an article typical of the fifteenth century.

Beyond the apse of Ernulph's main crypt was that of his rectangular Trinity Chapel above. This was removed by William the Englishman who put up the beautiful substitute that we see to-day (v. opposite p. 96). It has already been pointed out that here he gave his fancy freer play, with the result that while he retained massive twin columns he capped them with a circular instead of a square abacus and also placed slender Purbeck marble pillars down the centre from which spring the filleted ribs of the vaulting. The ribs over the ambulatory round have no fillet. The dignity and grace of this part with its mighty columns produce a most satisfying effect and call forth the feeling that here indeed was a resting place worthy of one of the most famous in the long line of archbishops ; for here between the two central pillars with an altar at the west was placed the tomb of Becket, and hither came the pilgrims, maimed, halt, and blind, to honour their new-found Saint and gain such benefit as they might for their physical

infirmities. The accompanying illustration from a tracing of the tomb in one of the miracle windows will give a little idea of what it was like. Upon the top is a large candlestick at the foot of which is lying a coil, that is to say, a votive offering not uncommon in early times, in the

shape of a length of gold or silver thread which was the measure of the ailing portion of the sufferer's body. Adjoining these is a square box with two handles and what looks like a slit in the lid. It is supposed to have contained the archbishop's sudary, or handkerchief, but it is difficult to dismiss the feeling that it looks suspiciously like an almsbox waiting to receive the price of cure or at any rate of the little ampullae or bottles of water mixed with the Saint's blood which were on sale for the pilgrims to take home for themselves and others. It was always an expensive business was the beneficence of the Saint! Even a mere visit to each special place of interest, the Martyrdom, the Tomb, the Shrine, and the Crown involved a donation of seven shillings at every spot unless the visitor was very poor. Again, no self-respecting visitor would return home from his pilgrimage without its insignia, viz. the little badges, leaden heads or busts of the Saint, in his hat, and it is on record that in the fifteenth century Louis XI, King of France, even went so far as to write and ask if he might have one to add to the collection round his cap! Numerous examples of these things



BECKET'S TOMB

can be seen in the town museum. Through the large holes in the side of the tomb the coffin could be seen, and some of the thinner pilgrims even squeezed themselves inside, so that by closer contact with the Saint their benefit might be the greater! In 1220, as has been said, the bones were moved up to the Shrine above, and from that time the tomb lost a good deal of its importance, although it was always held in veneration. On the face of the great south-west pier is an interesting scratching on a



TILES IN CRYPT OF BECKET'S CROWN

large scale showing Our Lord in Glory seated with the four evangelists in the form of their respective symbols around Him. The ceiling of the part under Becket's Crown is powdered with the letter M and a crowned I. Above are the two iron grated windows lighting the Sacrist's room or "Wex-house" before mentioned. Soon after the Dissolution all this part was walled off and turned into a coal cellar for one of the prebendaries and so it remained until 1866.

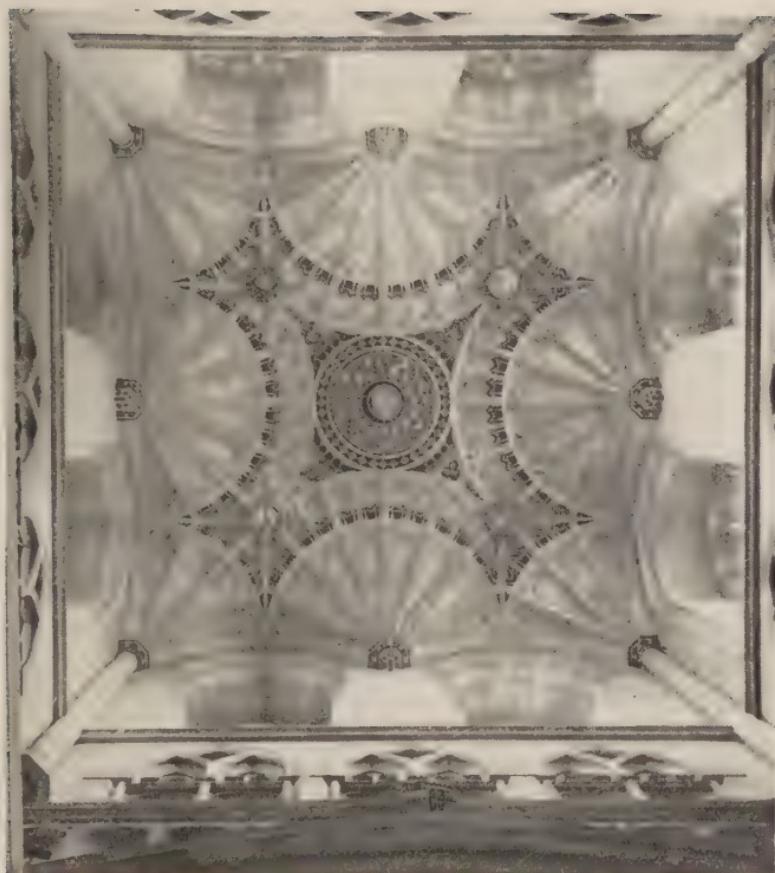
Since then matters have improved and some

interesting discoveries have been made. In the first place the foundations of Ernulph's rectangular crypt have been traced as reaching across at the base of the easternmost of the central pillars, thus once more confirming the conjectures of Professor Willis. In the second place a much more intriguing and fascinating affair has come to light, far out-distancing in interest the heavy-footed discussions upon Becket's Crown or unnamed tombs. It is nothing more nor less than this: Whose skeleton did they discover who opened (in 1888) a hastily made grave (marked on the floor to-day) just to the west of the position of the old altar of St. Thomas? It is quite impossible to enter adequately into the question here. Suffice it to say now that the skeleton was that of a tall and big man, with the skull entire but showing a tremendous fracture on the side of the head; if any one will read through the marshalled evidence of ancient writers carefully sifted and weighed by Canon A. J. Mason, the written reports of eye-witnesses at the opening up of the grave, and the technical opinions of medical men, he may well indeed begin to think that he has a more than plausible answer to the inquiry, "What became of the bones of St. Thomas?" The traditional idea was always that the bones were burnt, but there seems to be no direct evidence that this was done. It was not the custom of Henry VIII so to treat the remains of any Saint whose tomb he despoiled, but the more or less certain fact that the Commissioners burnt the spurious skull kept in "Becket's Crown" may

well have been misunderstood and applied to the whole skeleton. If it be true that the bones were buried and not burnt, then this was the most natural place for them, namely, near the Saint's original tomb. It may just be added that there is a draft account by Thomas Derby, Clerk to the Privy Council, among the State Papers for 1539, of an official denial as to the burning which was given forth, or intended so to be, in order to counteract the prevalent opinion ; while the fact that the Commissioners would have seen his skeleton with skull entire would have enabled them to say with certainty that the skull, or portion of the skull, in "Becket's Crown" was a "feyned thing."

On the way back to go out of the crypt, the visitor should stop outside the door leading to the French church and look round in the direction from which he has just come, when he will see on a pillar in the distance the well-known "Becket's Ghost."

Returning now under Bell Harry Tower, the vaulting of the lantern about 130 ft. up must be examined (v. opposite). The letters T.G.P. stand for Thomas Goldston Prior, the second of that name, and the arms are: (1) azure an episcopal staff erect or ensigned with a cross pattée argent, surmounted by a pall of the third, edged and fringed of the second, and charged with four crosses pattée fitchée sable. The crest is : Above a coroneted mitre all or and behind in pale is an archbishop's crozier (insignia of archbishop) impaling Warham (p. 83), (2) See of Canterbury impaling



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[Ackland & Youngman,

BELL HARRY VAULT

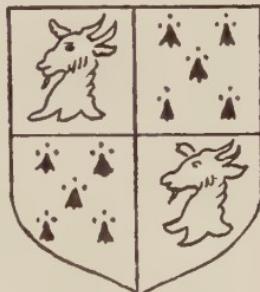
gules and ermine on the first and fourth, a goat's head erased argent (Morton, Archbishop). Lower down are Percy and Lucie, Dean and Chapter, and other arms. On the floor level things have altered much since the days of the monks.

The western quire screen was their *pulpitum* or screen with loft in which was put a *novum orologium magnum* made in 1292 at a cost of £30 by Prior Eastry. Sometimes the Gospel might be read from there, but whereas this was commonly done by those foundations with secular canons, it was the exception to the case of "regulars," i.e. monks living according to a definite rule. The space under the tower was reserved for various purposes,

more particularly for those monks who, either by reason of wrong-doing, physical weakness, or ill health, were unable to take their full part in the quire offices and therefore had to sit without in this vestibule whence they could at least follow the service. Under the western tower of the arch was the rood screen proper, combining the duty also of acting as reredos to the altar of the Holy Cross, i.e. the people's altar, in the centre with a door on either side leading through into the quire vestibule. On Sundays there used to be a procession round the church and cloisters, ending up at the great rood,



SEE OF
CANTERBURY

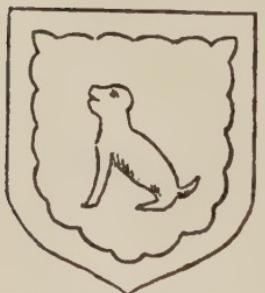


ARMS OF
ARCHBISHOP MORTON

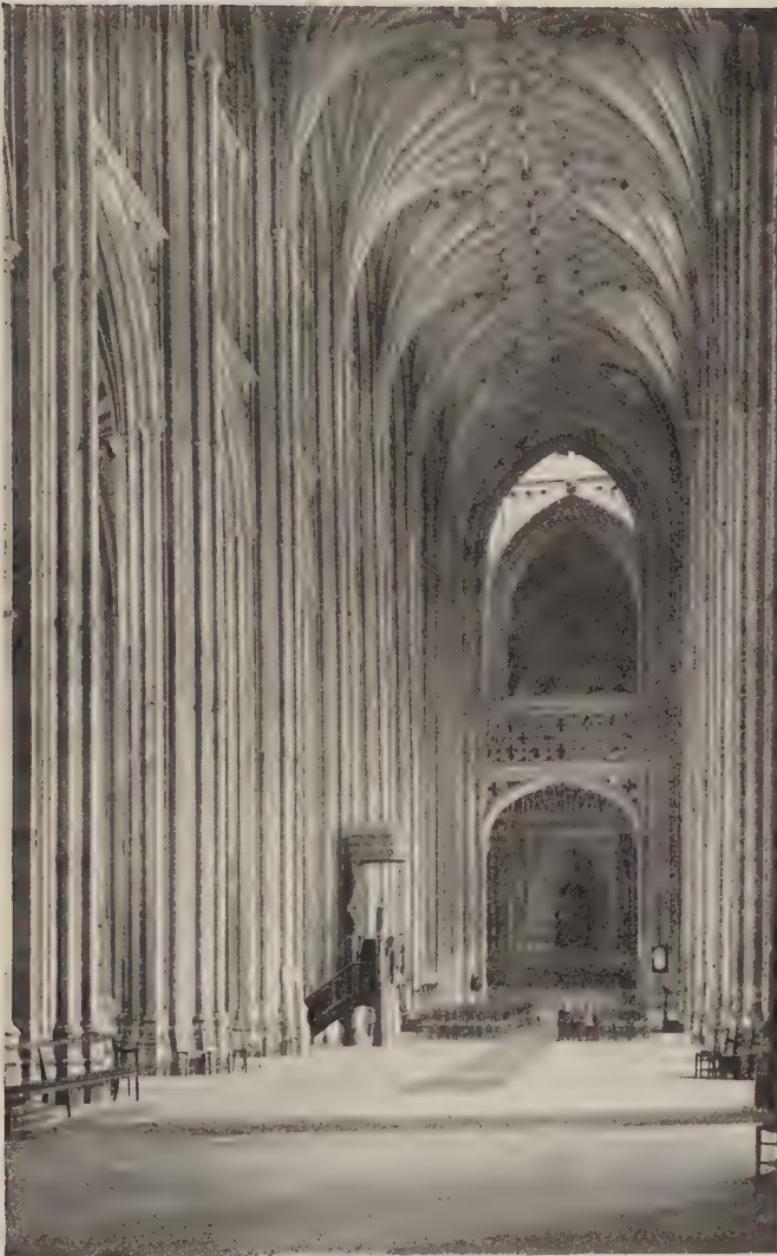
where a "station" was made by the clergy who had to stand in a particular position marked out for them by lines engraved in the pavement by Prior Chillenden. When the nave was repaved in 1787-8 much of interest was lost including these lines for the station. They are mentioned by Gostling (p. 221) as being eight feet apart. The same Prior rebuilt the great flights of steps leading up to the quire and about 1401 removed the old stone rood screen and substituted iron grilles with two gates on the same lines as the old screen (see J. Dart). The altar of the Holy Cross was at the same time moved into the north aisle, where was still the Lady Chapel, and remained in existence at least until 1532. About the middle of the eighteenth century the grilles were taken away and placed in the west and south doorways as mentioned early in this chapter.

With regard to the nave, the original building of Lanfranc had long been in bad condition and Archbishop Simon of Sudbury decided to rebuild it and issued an appeal for subscriptions. Lanfranc's work, with the exception of the two western towers, was pulled down to the ground—at least so many affirm, and probably they are right—although others think that up to the top of the

plinth, if not higher on the north wall, is Lanfranc's actual building *in situ*. That the walls are full of re-used Norman masonry is abundantly clear, but



ARMS OF
ARCHBISHOP SUDBURY



Photograph]

THE NAVE

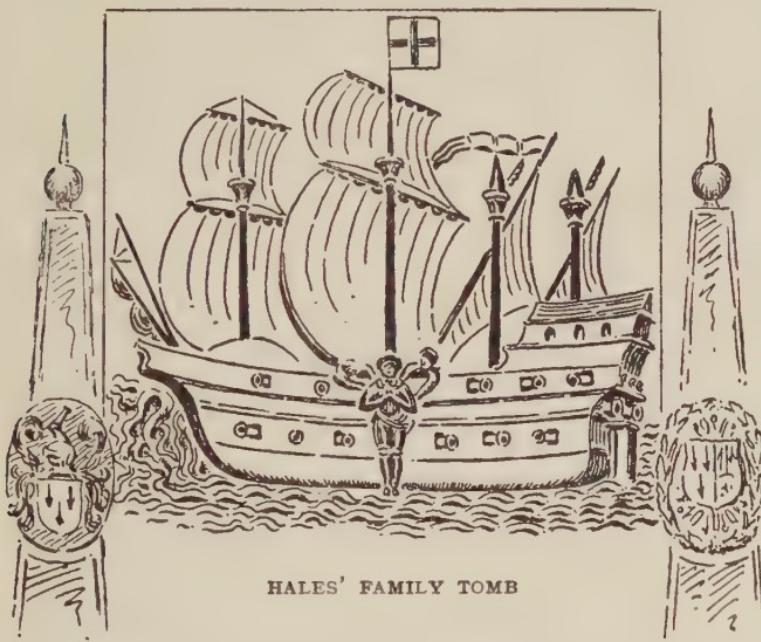
[Ackland & Youngman.

to say that it is masonry, as originally built and undisturbed, is another matter. On the north wall, especially, many of the stones bear two mason's marks, one of which is invariably a Perpendicular specimen, which clearly shows that at least the part above the plinth is all remade and, incidentally, contradicts Mr. Beazley's theory that the south wall of the cloisters, which is of course this wall, is the original work of Lanfranc. A start seems to have been made at the western end on the exact site of Lanfranc's building in 1377, and in 1380 we find from the Patent Rolls that not only were masons, carpenters, and other labourers taken on, but that certain masons were exempted for two years from serving on assizes, juries, etc., while at work on the Cathedral. Although with the archbishop's murder in 1381 the work was somewhat retarded, it was nevertheless to a certain extent carried on under Prior Finch, but another Patent Roll for 1382 records the "appointment of Wm. Topclyf and Walter Cherteseye to take masons in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex for the immediate repair of Christ Church, Canterbury, which was greatly injured in the last earthquake." This would obviously interfere with the ordinary course of the building operations for it is evident that the matter was urgent, as well it might be, seeing that to any partly-erected church an earthquake might naturally do much damage. In fact this earthquake did more damage than is usually thought (see Chapter IV). Upon the death of Prior Finch in 1391, the appearance of Thomas Chillenden upon the scene, "the greatest

builder of a Prior that ever was in Christes Chirche," gave an added impulse to the work. More appeals, backed by the Pope, were sent out to the public for monetary help in this very costly business, with the result that, c.1400, if the heraldry in the vault is any guide, the nave was finished, as we now see it. As an early example of Perpendicular work it is undoubtedly interesting but the proportions give little pleasure to the eye. Too narrow, especially in the aisles, for its height, the mistake, in Mr. Bond's opinion, was due to the builders' decision to seek their lighting from the aisles rather than from the clerestory. This involved a lofty ground floor in order to get sufficiently large windows, with a resultingly meagre clerestory and a triforium which, like Winchester, is a mere panelled wall. The pillars also are on the thin side while the rings round them serve to destroy the long upward line of the shafts and help to add to the loss of dignity. The vaulting would probably be improved and given more character if the bosses had been a good deal larger and bolder. A noticeable feature at the base of the central tower are the straining arches of beautiful quatrefoil work placed between the tower piers and adjoining bays for the purpose of giving extra support to the piers which were found, in 1495, to be bending under the weight of the tower. They bear the rebus of Prior Goldston II, three golden stones on a blue field with his motto, *Non nobis, Domini, non nobis set nomini tuo da Gloriam*—“ Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give the praise.”

These arches compare very favourably with the extraordinary specimens at Wells Cathedral which were put up for a similar purpose (v. opposite p. 44).

Details to note in the nave are few. The two eastern bays of the north aisle were for long the

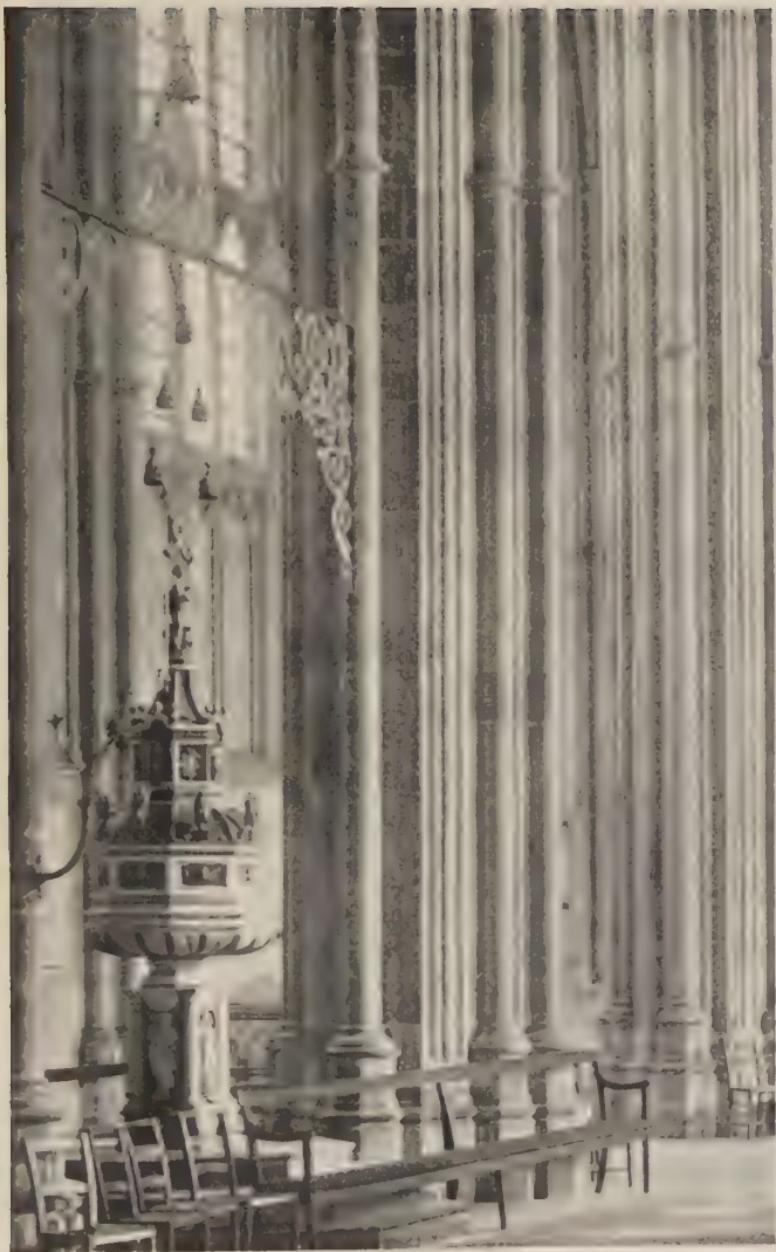


HALES' FAMILY TOMB

Lady Chapel and contain the grave of Archbishop Theobald. On the wall is a curious monument to members of the Hales family. Above is Sir James Hales being buried at sea in 1589 on his way home from Portugal. In the middle is his wife kneeling at a desk with a view painted on the background behind her showing a church, a manor house, and between them a river with four men

hurrying to the bank. This refers to an ancestor, also a Sir James Hales, a justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1555 and the only judge who refused to sign the Act of Edward VI, wherein he sought to exclude his sisters Mary and Elizabeth from the succession, on the ground that it was against law and conscience. This, however, did not prevent him getting into disgrace in Queen Mary's reign but he was afterwards allowed to retire to the family home of Thanington Manor. It is the church of that parish which appears in the painting, and in the river between his home and Tonford Manor opposite he was one day found drowned. His friends averred that as an old man he must have accidentally fallen in, but local gossip would have it that it was suicide. The scene of the tragedy, just as it appears in the painting, is but a mile out of Canterbury along Wincheap Street.

Almost opposite this monument on the south side is another apparently very early fifteenth century Flemish painting depicting the Flagellation, which was found on the site of the old "Cheker" building (see Monastic Buildings). The pulpit is in memory of Dean Payne Smith, d. 1895. Near the west end on the north side is a tablet by Nicolas Stone, erected in 1625 to Orlando Gibbons, organist to King Charles I, who died here of apoplexy while on his way to the marriage of that monarch. Close by is the font, of a not unpleasing design, ornamented with figures of the Apostles and others, and given in 1639 by John Warner, Bishop of Rochester. It was much damaged



Photograph

THE FONT

[Ackland & Youngman.

in the time of the Puritans but the fragments were carefully gathered together and preserved until the Restoration by Mr. William Somner, the antiquarian, and local historian, so that the bishop was afterwards able to repair and re-present his gift to the Cathedral. As an acknowledgment of his services, it is always said that the first child allowed to be baptized in the font was Mr. Somner's infant son. It seems a pity to disturb so delightful a tradition, but at the same time it may be mentioned, for what it is worth, that the Cathedral Register of Baptisms, while giving that of Somner's son on August 16, 1663, goes on to record "1663, October 8, Sophia ye daughter of Dr. John Aucher a Prebendary of this Church and Susanna his wife was the first that was baptized in the new font." In 1789 it was moved into the Norman Lavatory Tower which, in consequence, gained the misleading name of the "Baptistry." In the sixteenth century the Cathedral had a portable font which at various times was sent to Greenwich and elsewhere chiefly for royal christenings. In 1896 the font came back to its old position in the nave. The coats of arms at the points only of the nave arches are of modern persons connected with the Cathedral, such as Manners Sutton, Welfitt, Moore, Andrews, Earl Nelson, and others.

Finally, there remain the two western towers with which to deal. That on the north, called the Arundel Tower, is modern and takes the place of one of Lanfranc's original towers which had stood until 1832. In that year expert London opinion said that, although defective, it had sound

foundations and could be restored, but the taste of that era preferred a lifeless uniformity, and so the ancient structure was condemned, with the exception of a strip left to support the north side of the great west window during rebuilding which remains to-day with but a thin facing of modern stonework upon it. Beneath this tower, which has a drop vault, was held the archbishop's Consistory Court. It now contains the tomb of Archbishop Benson who was the first primate since Cardinal Pole to be buried in the Cathedral. The subsoil of the town is, as might be expected, boggy alluvial deposit, and it is interesting to know that when the deep foundations of this new tower were being dug, the upright skeletons of a man and two oxen were discovered some distance below which told only too clearly of a sometime horrible "tragedy of the marsh."

A most important point to note in connexion with all the three big towers of this Cathedral, which few perhaps realize, is that in each case Norman work existed in the upper stories after the rebuilding of the nave, and still exists in two of them to-day. This means that, as Mr. Caroe truly says, "What Chylynden accomplished in these examples was a master stroke," for it was nothing more nor less than removing the lower parts of the towers and underbuilding the upper Norman stories with his Perpendicular work.

The south-west, Dunstan or Oxford Steeple, as it is variously called, has quite a fair amount of Norman work on the landing which is level with the top of the aisle vaulting—practically

the whole of the north and the eastern half of the east and part of the western walls being left. On the eastern face of the east wall the two imposts and outer order of the arch of the window remain, which in the days of the lower aisle of Lanfranc would have looked out above the roof. A small Norman buttress runs up at the north-east corner which can also be seen outside from below. This early work ends abruptly at the floor of the ringing chamber where the mixed stone and flint of Prior Wodensburgh who, according to Stone's chronicle, started rebuilding the upper part, c.1425, can be clearly seen. The main reconstruction of the tower was done by Prior Molash, 1428-35, the final touches being added by his successor, Prior Goldston I. This tower received the name of "Dunstan" from the bell of that name which was hung herein and is now used for chiming the hours. The name of "Oxford Steeple" has been given to it because it was built during the primacy of Archbishop Chicheley who was so closely connected with that University.

CHAPTER III

STAINED GLASS

ONE of the prime glories of this Cathedral is the large amount of very fine early stained glass which, in spite of all changes and chances, including the undesirable attentions of "Blue Dick" and the loss of precious pieces on account of perished and faulty leading in the eighteenth century, has come down to modern times in considerable quantity.

Ranged round the clerestory was formerly a series of single large figures representing the ancestry of Our Lord, of which only sixteen are left out of the original forty-nine. Two only remain *in situ* in the clerestory, viz. at the south-east corner of the north-east transept and at the north-east corner of the south-east transept. The remainder have found their way into the lower lights of the great west window of the nave and also into the south window of the south-west transept. The archaic figures mostly seated in stiff ungainly attitudes can easily be picked out with their names in large letters across the background behind them. Quite a number of the old borders, however, which were always a prominent feature in early windows, still remain in the clerestory. The rose window in the north-east transept has similar glass and

shows Moses with the Tables of the Law opposite the Synagogue personified who is holding the Levitical books. This contradistinction between the Christian and Jewish religions finds a more vivid parallel among the statuary on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral where the latter is blindfolded and is letting drop her tablets the while she grasps at her mantle.

In the quire aisles there were originally twelve windows showing Scriptural subjects, consisting of types and antitypes, the latter running down the centre with the former on either side. Only two remain now in the north aisle but they are full of quaint interest, and on account of the richness of their colouring and clarity of their design, many will prefer them even to the perhaps more famous miracle windows. The westernmost window deals with the infancy of Our Lord for the most part and therefore the Magi or Wise Men figure prominently. Reading from left to right starting at the top of the subjects are: Balaam, Magi riding with star above, Isaiah, Pharaoh, Herod and Magi, Gentiles, Solomon and Queen of Sheba, Magi offering their gifts, Joseph, Destruction of Sodom and Lot's wife looking back, the Magi's dream (the three are sleeping together in one bed while visited by the Angel), Jeroboam, Samuel given to Eli by Hannah, and Christ presented at the Temple. The remaining subjects were originally in the sixth window of the series and include the Parable of the Sower with the thorns, the Sower and the Birds, the Rich Men and Noah's three sons dividing between them the earth which

looks like a gorgeous three-lobed circle. The second window is now a mixture and includes various subjects such as Jesus among the Doctors, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, the Seven Ages of Man where the youngest but one is distinctly seen holding a ball in one hand and a hockey stick in the other! the Marriage at Cana of Galilee, and Nathanael. A full account of these windows is to be found in a MS. at Christ Church, Oxford, edited by Dr. Montague R. James. In the lower triforium just above these windows and again in the south aisle is also ancient glass gathered from other parts of the Cathedral. On the north side can be seen a realistic siege of Canterbury by the Danes and also their murder of Archbishop Alphege.

In the northern apse of the north-east transept is one original medallion showing St. Martin dividing his coat with the beggar.

Coming to St. Thomas's miracle windows in Trinity Chapel the visitor finds a veritable feast provided, for here stand eight magnificent examples for his inspection. Keeping on the north side first there are four, three tall and one short, the other short window to the west being modern. Space does not allow of a long recital of the various queer miracles and ingenious happenings displayed herein, but one or two may be of enough interest to be quoted. In the most westerly tall window will be seen women presenting the "coils" by way of votive offering to which reference has already been made in the last chapter. This window is notable for the fact that it is the only one possessing

what is known as a diapered background, i.e. a background with, as it were, a lace-like pattern faintly picked out upon it. This kind of treatment is commoner in the later work of French windows and is found more frequently at Chartres and Bourges. In the centre tall window at the bottom is seen the physician of Perigord being cured of the dropsy, higher up the story of Eilward and Fulk quarrelling over a debt, and in the central medallion at the very top is an interesting representation of the shrine of the Saint where it looks like a gigantic gilded casket on short ornamental pillars with the Saint squeezing himself out at the end and appearing to a man lying on a bed near by. In this window also is an uncommon feature in the form of another kind of diaper work, viz. a mosaic diaper composed of blue squares with tiny red squares at the corners. Here it is used to fill up the spandrels between the medallions but again is a good deal commoner on the Continent than here. One other window, the easternmost on the south side, also has the same sort of decoration but in that case the colouring is red and white. The easternmost window shows the Irish soldier who turned his horses loose in the enclosure of a chapel in Dublin dedicated to the Saint, they are stolen, but, on prayer to the Saint, the robber is made to lose his way and finds himself back again where he started ! Again the boy Robert goes stoning frogs by the banks of the River Medway, falls in and gets drowned. Note the large pale green frogs ! He is fished out with a hook and the Saint restores him to life. He probably did not

indulge in that cruel pastime again ! The prevailing colour of the window is a fine rich blue.

In Becket's Crown the central window is for the most part original except for the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and part of the Ascension which are modern. The return of the spies with a gigantic bunch of grapes in the bottom half circle is very nice. On either side are modern windows which afford a most excellent opportunity for comparing the old with the new. That on the north is a Jesse window designed by Mr. Austin and made about 1860, that on the south was made and given by Messrs. Hemming in 1897 to mark the 1,300th anniversary of the landing of St. Augustine. When looked at from a little distance away the difference is easily perceived for the new has a jewel-like, almost kaleidoscopic appearance. A close inspection, while revealing differences of drawing, nevertheless shows it to be a very passable imitation, and it is on record that a German professor, who once visited Canterbury to lecture upon early glass, was found standing before this particular window making elaborate notes. On being informed of the age of that which he was studying his astonishment was profound !

On the south side of the Trinity Chapel the most easterly window tells in very realistic fashion the story of poor William Kellett the carpenter, who, while cutting wood with an axe, made a bad shot and wounded himself seriously in the leg. He is shown being bound up by a woman and ultimately of course is healed by the Saint in a miraculously short time. This story is also repre-







sented on the north side but those four medallions are modern copies. In the same window is told the story of Adam the forester, or, as we should now call him, gamekeeper, who, with two companions, finds three poachers who have killed and are carrying away a deer from the estate. On trying to seize them one shoots at Adam with a bow sending an arrow through his throat. Adam calls upon St. Thomas and afterwards drinks some of the holy water which, to show how serious is the injury, is made to trickle out of both sides of his throat as does also food and drink. Within three weeks, however, he is well! The next full window west contains, in the upper part, a most remarkably brilliant piece of ruby glass which is there employed to represent a fire, and in the adjoining window are more exciting stories. Godfrey of Winchester, a baby, has a fever but is cured by some holy water from St. Thomas's well. However, his troubles are not yet over for, while lying in his cradle asleep, the wall of the house proceeds to fall in upon him—to his mother's horror! He is rescued, however, uninjured, but has to be taken to the Saint's tomb again for a final cure because he apparently had a relapse into his former complaint which, perhaps, under the circumstances was not altogether surprising! Quite at the bottom of the westernmost window is seen another representation of Becket's Shrine with an added detail of some interest (p. 58). Here part of the golden casket is shown on its columns and immediately in front is an altar with a white cloth upon it and a hanging lamp above. In this respect

it is a more accurate representation than that in the north aisle for here is shown the altar which is known to have been at the head or western end of the Shrine. The decorative borders of all these early windows are a very important feature, the general rule being that the broader the border the earlier the window. The varieties in design of the same foliage are excellent, foliage which, Mr. Nelson says, is thought to have been derived from the Herb Bennet (*geum urbanum*) or Avens. A few pieces of these borders are also in the windows of the Lavatory Tower.

Opinions are somewhat divided as to the date of all these windows, for whereas Mr. Westlake was inclined to put the oldest at early thirteenth century, others are disposed to put them about thirty years earlier. Mr. S. Caldwell, for example, whose family before him, and himself, have been in charge of the Cathedral glass for a good hundred years, is of opinion that the earliest glass, namely the figures of the clerestory, may be dated c.1180, and in this he is supported by Mr. Clement Heaton who sees in this series a transitional improvement upon the earliest glass at Chartres which is known to date c.1150. The next in date will be the quire aisle windows and the triforium lights above which can be put about the year 1200. The appearance of a number of small figures on the medallions instead of one large one and the general treatment of the drapery all denote a later date. Finally come the windows in the Trinity Chapel and Becket's Crown, which many people date c.1220-30 on the ground of the appearance of the Shrine

therein, but Mr. Caldwell thinks that 1225 is quite the latest date and is inclined himself to put them about ten years or so earlier. He points out that trifling differences in the matter of technique abound, but these are to be ascribed not to variation in time but to the varying capacities of the individual workmen employed. The strong similarity between the glass here and that at Sens and Chartres is admitted by all, but, whereas it used to be thought that the Canterbury glass must have been made in France, modern authorities now think that it is English work under French guidance, and Mr. Philip Nelson tells us that, by an agreement between King Henry II and Louis VII, it was arranged that one of the latter's artists in glass should be sent to England. From very early times there had been a school of glass-work at Chartres, and, seeing that in 1176 members of the Chapter of Chartres came to England to ask that they might have the famous John of Salisbury, Becket's friend, as their bishop, the connexion between the two Cathedrals is very evident. Mr. Heaton also goes on to suggest that the artist first worked at Canterbury, and then after the destruction by fire of the east end of Sens in 1184 made further windows there, four of which remain, including one dealing with St. Thomas, and that, finally, he went to Chartres to make the present windows which date about 1206. This theory, however, seems to involve a much earlier date for the miracle windows here than any one has hitherto been prepared to allow, or is indeed possible, seeing that, by 1184, William the English-

man had barely finished the actual building of this part of the church. It must always be remembered when looking at these windows that there are a number of small pieces of modern glass inserted to make up deficiencies, but nevertheless to the inexpert this is perhaps but a secondary consideration for the new is so well done that the result of the combination is at any rate most satisfying.

The next glass in point of date is of very early fourteenth century put to the very uncommon use of decorating stonework. In the canopy over the Prior's seat in the Chapter House small round pieces of glass have been inserted. These are not of stained glass, but glass with a red and green pattern painted on one side and backed by a coating of gold, thus enabling a decorative effect to be obtained with a solid background.

Of fifteenth century glass the Cathedral possesses some good examples. In the head of the west window of the nave are to be seen the arms of Richard II, Anne of Bohemia, and Isabella of France, his two wives, with small figures in between together with saints, bishops, and seven kings below. The large window of the south-west transept also has some figures of prophets together with archiepiscopal and other coats of arms of a later date. It is on the north side, however, that the best of this glass survives. The big window of the Martyrdom has been magnificent. It was given by King Edward IV in 1477 in memory of the marriage of Edward I and Marguerite of France. Unfortunately it was irretrievably

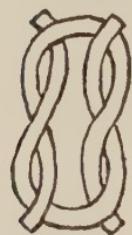
damaged by the Rev. Richard Culmer, rector of Chartham, commonly called "Blue Dick," who in Puritan times was well known as a fanatic. This man is said to have himself procured a ladder and with a pike broken up the glass which, in his own report in "Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury," portrayed the figure of Becket in full mass vestments together with the seven "Glorious Appearances" of the Blessed Virgin Mary. All this has gone but there is a certain amount remaining in a somewhat confused state. In the heads of the window tracery are figures of prophets, apostles, and ecclesiastics, with angels below, holding shields with coats of arms. Two archbishops from here are now in the windows of the Lavatory Tower. In the middle tier is a series of other coats of arms which are thought to have nothing to do with the window. Below are seen Edward IV and his Queen Elizabeth Woodville in the centre. Behind the King are the unfortunate "Princes in the Tower," his eldest son, afterward Edward V, with a rich background sprinkled over with ostrich feathers, and behind again his second son Richard, Duke of York, with his badge of a falcon and fetter lock. Behind the Queen are their daughters Elizabeth, Cecilia, Anna, Katherine, and Maria. The panel in the centre between the King and Queen is of two parts. The lower portion has the arms of Henry VII and therefore this is a later insertion. The upper part shows two figures in niches, one a King in armour with name below of "Mauritius," the other a female with long hair, helmet, and sword. This

was probably part of a shrine with a large crucifix at which the Royal Family was worshipping. This explanation is taken from Mr. J. le Couteur's article in Arch. Cantiana dealing well and fully with this window. The contract for this window was made in 1467 but the work was not finished before 1477.

In the west window are four coats of arms of this period (1) gules three pairs of keys in saltire or two and one on a chief azure three dolphins embowed argent (early arms of Company of Salt Fishmongers); (2) argent a cross gules in the first quarter a sword of the second (City of London); (3) per pale argent and gules three beavers in pale counter-changed (Bernewell); (4) argent two chevronels between three moor's heads couped wreathed ppr. A member of the Bernewell family was alderman of the City of London in 1435 and presumably gave a window of some sort. To-day, with the exception of these coats of arms, the glass is all modern, c.1867, by Messrs. Ward and Hughes. The Bernewell

arms also occur in the south-west transept.

In the adjoining Deans' Chapel is another good window rather earlier than that in the Martyrdom. The



BOURCHIER
KNOT



BADGE OF
WOODSTOCK

groundwork is composed of light quarries with the Bourchier knot alternately with a stem of

oak, leaved and fructed, as a punning badge for Woodstock. Archbishop Bourchier's mother was the daughter and sole heir of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. Large roundels in the tracery heads bear the usual knots, falcons with outspread wings, and the rose of Lancaster. In base are five shields bearing Woodstock impaling azure a saltire argent (Neville) and Bourchier impaling Lovaine and FitzWarine.

Of modern glass much was put in by Mr. G. Austin about 1860 after the old style. In St. Anselm's Chapel there is a large window by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, and this firm is also represented in the south-east transept. A pleasant example by Mr. C. Whall of Chelsea is to be found in St. Andrew's Chapel, and this gentleman is also responsible for a fine window in the south-west transept.

LIBRARY

In this place remarks will be confined to the history of the MSS. and books, the building itself being brought in when dealing with the monastic buildings in the following chapter.

Dr. James has pointed out that there are unusually full records of this library in the middle ages, but he does not feel able to allow that many of the traditions are correct which ascribe gifts of books or rather any definite books, to any particular benefactor before the Conquest. This is not to say that such gifts were not made, but for the most part they cannot now be traced, for, in the oft-quoted case of Theodore of Tarsus,

668-90, it has been proved that Archbishop Parker attributed to his gift books of the twelfth and even of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A few Anglo-Saxon MSS. are almost certainly now at Cambridge which were included in the 1800 or so volumes in Prior Eastry's catalogue, and it is interesting to know that Ernulph, a Frenchman as opposed to a Norman, had a special liking for the Anglo-Saxon tongue and was the last to have the records of each Cathedral, to which he went, kept in that language. There are, however, just one or two genuine early possessions of the Priory now scattered afar. The Psalter of St. Augustine in the British Museum, the Gospels of MacDurna at Lambeth, "E" of the Acts (just possibly given by Theodore) in the Bodleian, and the Codex Aureus or book of the Gospels in golden letters on purple vellum given by King Canute and now in the Royal Library at Stockholm. It is rather curious that this last volume should originally have been stolen by Norse pirates, been rescued by an Ealdorman in 850, presented to the Cathedral and now be found again in Sweden. Lanfranc as a scholar and a collector of books made his influence powerfully felt in this department; and Dr. James even credits him with founding here a school of writing, which he distinguishes by a pointed Italian style of script, the use in decoration of a peculiar purple colour and small white lion-like animals in the designs. Mr. F. C. Madan, late Bodley's librarian, however, in his "Books in Manuscript," 1893, is not able to support this idea. A special method of marking

the books was certainly employed in the shape of signs formed of capital letters or monograms on the fly leaves. Eastry's catalogue tells us that Becket left to the library about seventy volumes largely composed of Latin authors. Those who borrowed books had their names and the volume written up on boards *in magnis tabulis*, while those who took service books only were similarly treated *in parvis tabulis*. Such borrowing was not confined to the monks alone, for ten years even after his death King Edward II was still being noted as having borrowed the "Miracles of St. Thomas" and other books and as not having returned them!

In the fourteenth century this monastery, like many others, being anxious to send some of its members to the University, founded Canterbury College in Oxford (now part of Christ Church) for this purpose and supplied it with a "custos" or warden and books from the home library.

From early times, in accordance with the Benedictine rule, the precentor was generally librarian, but here, at any rate, this was not always a matter of routine, because it was arranged to depend upon that gentleman's capabilities as the statutes said : "If the precentor were an educated man, he was to have care of the books"! Prior Chillenden left his mark upon the library as usual, more in the way of buildings than books, but it is interesting to see that two volumes, among others, were acquired during his time which are described as being *in papiro*, i.e. on paper, which was just coming into use at that time. The next and last real scholar of note in the early days was Prior

William Sellynge (1472-94), a man much above the ordinary in education and the patron of Thomas Linacre. He had travelled much abroad in his day on diplomatic affairs, and as he went he had collected MSS. of various kinds, but especially Greek, at a time when the new learning was slowly coming through from the East. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that he was the means of re-introducing Greek into England. His MSS. he brought to Canterbury, but hardly more than fifty years had elapsed before they were accidentally burnt, to the very great loss of the Priory, more especially if it be true that among them was a copy of Cicero's "De Republica."

At the Dissolution the library escaped to a certain extent, for books were not the kind of spoil likely to appeal to Henry VIII, but as time went on it too was very largely "dissolved" into private hands, a number of volumes finding their way through the agency of Archbishop Parker to the University of Cambridge. However, phoenix-like, the library has recovered itself to a great extent, and, thanks to benefactions from time to time and by other means, it has replenished its stores until to-day it has some 25,000 or more printed volumes upon its shelves. In 1677 the chains were ordered to be removed from the books and in 1840 the library was opened to the public.

As regards the MSS. in the possession of the Dean and Chapter to-day, they are for the most part of a business character, that is to say, either concerned with the properties of the church or are the ancient records and accounts of all kinds

kept by the monastic officials in earlier days and by the Dean and Chapter up to modern times. Of these there are about 15,500 of all kinds. For example there are numberless fine charters coming down to the sixteenth century, the first of which, dating from 742, refers to a grant of land from Aethelbald, King of the Mercians. Another dated 949 is the gift of Reculver, by Eadred of England to the monks, a MS. which, on its face, says that it was written by St. Dunstan when he was Abbot of Glastonbury. It also includes, as a witness, the Queen Ediva, whose portrait has been described when dealing with the north-east transept. The Anglo-Saxon charters are thirty-three in number and of the highest importance. Other interesting and later MSS. include the "Accord of Winchester" in 1070, whereby the question of the supremacy of Canterbury over York was supposed to be settled. This deed is notable for having crosses by way of signature by William the Conqueror, Matilda, his wife, and various ecclesiastics, including the two archbishops. That the crosses and attestation clauses are clearly in different handwritings admits of no doubt, and the individual touch thereby given to this document is of very great interest. Another is a gift of his Devonshire Manor of Doccomb in the parish of Moreton Hampstead, to Christ Church, Canterbury, by William de Tracy, one of Becket's murderers. This man was on his way to the Holy Land on pilgrimage to expiate his crime when he was taken ill at the monastery of St. Euphemia, in Calabria. In his fear of dying without the rites of Holy Church, which were

denied him as being excommunicate, he did what he could by way of reparation in this deed. The most interesting point perhaps is that as he had not his own with him Tracy borrowed the monastery's seal and thus it comes about that a foreign monastic seal is found appended to a charter which is concerned solely with a transaction between Englishmen in England. It bears no date, but the approximate time has been discovered. This manor has belonged to the Dean and Chapter up to this day.

A large number of early letters have survived which throw a pleasant sidelight upon the more human side of otherwise dry official records. These letters show the little diplomacies, supply the motives for many otherwise incomprehensible actions and draw back the curtain which shrouds so much of the real life of early times. Herein is seen the young Archbishop Walter Reynolds writing for advice to Prior Eastry and consulting upon matters in which the elder man's experience was of value. The same with his successor, Archbishop Mepham, who, whether it was due to the foolishness or frequency of his inquiries or to the increasing age and short temper of the Prior, very frequently received most unflattering and even disrespectful replies !

One interesting item may be mentioned, viz. : the wine of St. Thomas. The story goes that Louis VII visited Canterbury in 1179 on account of the illness of his son, that he then presented, reluctantly it is true, the great jewel or "Regale," and afterwards on the recovery of his son gave the

S. Ieo Angl - Dux Hanc - Ap - Comt Justic Baronie
suis de chom. Pto p[ro]prio s[ecundu]m tota op[er]i Lan[ca]ster et Monachii tenet
aut regas suis et h[ab]et suis e[st] Omib[us] libracib[us] suis. Iacobus
- In pace et bello - quore - Juste. Si e[st] tis cresti et carissimi
mei. Et p[ro]hibeo ne illig[it] tis suis hoc iustice uicerit ut suorum
ut gummelua faciat. P. Tom Lan[ca]ster. Act. Vinc.



Photograph]

[Ackland & Youngman.

CONFIRMATION OF RIGHTS

E rex Angl - Dux Hanc - Ap - Comt Justic Baronie
Vic. Ministeri p[ro]prios - Omib[us] fidelib[us] suis frances et anglies de
Borchingehaefira - Oxenefordfira etc. Concedo q[uo]d Eccl[esi]a sce
naturas de Cantuar hat Baronie in iis suis de Borchin
ghatiria - Oxenefordia scilicet in Westberie - in healdonia - in
Hilketona - in Brutevella. Et p[ro]hibeo ne e[st] in illis fuger
ne aliq[ue] ferat Caput absq[ue] licentia sua sup x t[er]ti. foris adu
re, e[st] T. Lan[ca]ster - Henr[ic] de Essex Constant - Wm[ster]
b[ea]t. Ap. M[ar]tina.

Photograph]

[Ackland & Youngman.

LICENCE TO HUNT

monastery in gratitude an annual present of one hundred modii of wine. Dr. Sheppard has shown that although the wine was a fact, the rest is more or less fiction, because the original charter of Louis in the archives shows that he gave the wine while still in England and that the point of his son's illness or recovery was never mentioned. However that may be, from the monks' point of view, the wine was no doubt the thing and many letters occur throughout the archives referring to it. The Priory ended by having its own vineyard, but, as it was situated in the neighbourhood of Paris, it is to be feared that the resulting juice must have been of a rather indifferent quality.

There is also a very fine and rare series of the records of the archdeacon dating back a very long way, and including the visitation of Archdeacon Harpsfield in 1557, which, from its date at the end of Queen Mary's reign, is of unusual importance.

Two deeds are also shown in the library which contain Becket's name as a witness when Chancellor. They appear both to be holographs by two different hands. It is possible that one or the other might have been written by him, but it cannot be said that it is very likely, as this routine work would be more usually done by a clerk. That the deeds date from Becket's time and that he knew and approved their contents there is no doubt. The one is merely a confirmation by the King of their rights over their properties to the monks of Christ Church, the other the grant to hunt on their lands in Bucks and Oxon. In each case in the last line appears "f Tom, or T, Canc,"

i.e. " teste Tom, cancellario " (as witness Thomas the Chancellor).

A last word here may just refer the reader to the remarkably fine collection of seals in the library, very largely those of Priors. Of those relating to the monastery itself, the oldest is a small round specimen attached to a twelfth century deed, but generally considered to be itself earlier, and to show a rude representation of the Saxon church. This, according to Mr. W. de G. Birch, shows a thatched or shingled roof surmounted by a central tower, a small chapel [They look almost apsidal.—S. A. W.] at each end and in the forepart a tower joined by a wall to two smaller towers. The second seal, which Mr. Birch assigns to the latter half of the twelfth century, presents Lanfranc's building with two towers at the west end, two at the east with an apse beyond, a tall central tower with a four-winged creature on the top, a transept with pediment and a clerestory along the nave and quire. Further seals were made later on from time to time, but the two described have far and away the greatest interest as being the oldest drawings of the Cathedral in existence. They are on exhibition in a case in the library.

The Dean and Chapter are also fortunate in having preserved a number of silken circular seal cases of early date. They vary in size from three to four inches in diameter and are woven in designs of birds, foliage, and geometric patterns in blue, red, and yellow threads. Three or four are considered to be Byzantine work of the eleventh century, one is a product of the fourteenth century

weaving school at Lucca, and the bulk of the remainder are of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries and made from Sicilian silk. One specimen only is of leather.

PLATE, VESTMENTS, ETC.

As already shown Canterbury was always unusually rich in treasure of all kinds, much of which was kept in St. Andrew's Tower and the Vestiarium or Treasury. Dr. Wickham Legg and St. John Hope in their "Inventories" have done much to give some idea of the great wealth accumulated here and more especially in the matter of vestments.

The first and most valuable gift of which we hear is the golden crown of Canute given to the church as partial compensation for the murder of Archbishop Alphege. Conrad later on gave a cope with a little fringe of silver gilt bells, perhaps in part imitation of Aaron's robe, together with a seven-branched candlestick.

Perhaps a very partial and rough summary of some items mentioned in the inventory taken in 1315, while Richard of Sharsted was sacrist, may be of interest and may give some faint idea of how rich was the Cathedral. At this time the monks possessed, in the vestry alone, 50 chasubles, 124 copes of different kinds, 23 pairs of dalmatics and tunicles, 115 albs of linen and 23 of silk, 63 amices, 6 Pontifical rings, 6 pastoral staves (including that of St. Thomas which was of pearwood with a head of black horn), 12 mitres, and 6 gold chalices and patens, together with a host of lesser

objects. These were all in the vestry, but it must be remembered that it was customary to keep near every altar, cupboards or aumbries containing the ordinary necessaries in the way of plate and other things for the use of that particular altar, which are not included in the inventories. Bearing in mind that there must have been some twenty or more side altars throughout the building, it is evident that the additional valuables must have been very considerable. Amongst other vestments are recorded those of Lanfranc, chiefly black embroidered with pearls and gold, which means that they had been in use for a good two hundred years. Legg and Hope think that despite their colour they were not, in all probability, intended merely for requiems, quoting the fact that in this Cathedral on Palm Sunday there was always used for the altar a black cloth with white lions. These writers also point out a definite reference to the fact that it was customary to burn the better kind of worn out vestments for the sake of the metal to be obtained from the embroidery upon them. In 1416 a golden censer was presented for use at the High Altar by one Amyas Tatresall and such a gift was far from being an isolated instance. Recently the Victoria and Albert Museum has become possessed of something which may, or may not, be a little link with Canterbury; for in 1921 there was presented to the museum, through the National Art Collections Fund, a richly embroidered panel from an altar frontal of late thirteenth or early fourteenth century English work. It is of purple

silk embroidered with gold and silver thread, coloured silks, pearls, and heraldic devices and representing Our Lord seated in Glory. On the entablature is the name of "IOHANNES DE THANETO." It is here that the connexion with Canterbury comes in, for in an inventory of 1321 a John de Taneto twice appears, whether as donor or maker is not clear, of : (1) *Item Casula* (chasuble); *J. de Taneto de rubro sindone* (linen cloth) ; *de tuly* (dark red colour) ; *cum rosis brudatis* (embroidered). (2) *Item Alba Johannis de Taneto cum paruris* (borders) *de ruber sindone de tripe (?) brudatis cum rosis*.

At the time of the Dissolution in 1540 the Commissioners left the Dean and Chapter a very liberal equipment, including thirty sets of Eucharistic vestments and a large number of copes, four of which were of "riche gold baudekyn" (brocade) "with trewloves white garnished with honysoles of perle," while others had pheasants, hawks, popinjays (parrots), columbine flowers, and holly leaves embroidered upon them. Within a very short time, however, the Cathedral lost still more of its belongings, partly by sales to raise money for various purposes and partly by theft, with the result that to-day the church has comparatively nothing to show where once there must have been a veritable "embarras de richesse." The following is a complete list of the plate now in the Cathedral :

(1) Chalice, silver gilt, c.1636. Probably Italian. Given April 7, 1636, by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey; 9 in. high, with a large knop ornamented with the heraldic symbols of

his family and that of his wife, Lady A. Talbot, including heads of lions, talbots (dogs), and horses, the last with a slip of oak with acorn in its mouth. Stem short with elongated foot and foliated mouldings. Arms of Christ Church, Canterbury. No hall-marks.

(2) Chalice, silver gilt, c.1665. 10 in. high. Stem and foot plain. Arms of Christ Church. No hall-marks. The foot of this and No. 3 were added in 1756.

(3) Chalice, silver gilt, the fellow to (2). Both of these have plain paten covers with a central foot with Christ Church arms and feathered mantling.

(4) Chalice, silver gilt, 1854. Given by Archdeacon Harrison in 1881, on behalf of Mrs. Sophia Small, from whom he had received it some long time before. 9½ in. high. Marks (i) J.A. in a two-lobed escutcheon, (ii) lion passant, (iii) leopard's head not crowned, (iv) black letter capital T, (v) head of Queen Victoria.

(5) Chalice, silver gilt, 1886–7. Given by Dean Payne Smith in that year, modelled upon an Elizabethan design with arms of Christ Church. 8½ in. high. Marks (i) G.F., (ii) lion's head erased, (iii) Britannia, (iv) L, London date letter for 1886–7, (v) head of Queen Victoria.

(6) Chalice, fellow to (5). Both 5 and 6 have patens with same marks as the chalices.

(7) Chalice, silver gilt, 1898. With paten, given by Canon J. Rawlinson. Height, 8½ in., weight, 14½ ounces. Maker's marked C.K. in an oblong stamp. Stamped "Krall." On the knop are six amethysts and six pearls.

(8) Patens, silver gilt, 1756, two in number, with gadrooned edges and I.H.S. *en soleil* on the base of each foot. Engraved with "the gift of Philip Weston of Bostock in Berkshire Esq." He left the money by will which was paid over by his executors in 1756. Marks (i) script capitals, W.G. (William Grundy of Goff, Squire), (ii) lion passant, (iii) crowned leopard's head, (iv) black letter A for 1756-7.

(9) Flagons, silver gilt, 1664-5, two in number, jug-shaped, with spouts and flattish lid surmounted by a Maltese Cross. Stems ornamented with cable moulding and leaves, and the curved handles end at the bottom in a serpent's head. Height 14 in. over all. Arms of Christ Church, with feather mantling. Marks (i) on a shield a mullet above an escarp between pellets and annulets—a rare mark, (ii) crowned leopard's head, (iii) lion passant, (iv) black letter capital G. Weight 62½ ounces and 60½ ounces.

(10) Alms dishes, silver gilt, (?) c.1500-60, two small. 11 in. in diameter, the centre is raised to form a convex sexfoil with a projecting point between each pair of curves. Rim finely moulded. Both have their weight pricked on the back. (1) 19¾ ounces, (2) 20½ ounces.

(11) Alms dish, silver gilt, 1663. Large. 18½ in. in diameter; in centre is the sacred monogram; rim has the egg and tongue moulding; has only one mark and that hardly decipherable. (?) a man's head and bust. Purchased of J. Beacham, goldsmith, of Cheapside, in that year.

(12) Pricket candlesticks, silver gilt, 1663; two

17½ in. high exclusive of pricket. They have a kind of flat pine-apple pattern all over them. Their bases are lost, the present plate at bottom being evidently intended to fit on to something larger. Purchased of J. Beacham as above. The original large gilt dish and candlesticks were sold in 1642.

(13) Spoon, silver, perforated ; made and bought in 1733 and referred to in 1745 as a strainer. Has a very thin handle. Length over all, 7 in.

(14) Cruet, silver gilt, single ; date letter 1903.

(15) Rose water dish, silver, parcel gilt. French, *temp. François I.* 11½ in. in diameter ; in the centre is a flat circle engraved with a dog around which are large gadroons or lobes alternately gilt (convex) and silver (concave), ornamented with baskets of fruits and flowers, scrolled foliage with various animals perched thereon in repoussé work. On the border is similar ornamentation to that on the gadroons, the edge of the border being finely scalloped. In the centre, at the back, are two small coronets engraved. Inscription at back on the gadroons : " This Rosewater Dish, formerly French Crown Plate, was gifted to Archer 3rd Earl Amherst by Sir Hy. Clarke Jervoise on his marriage to Alice Countess of Lisburne and by her given to the service of God in Canterbury Cathedral in very grateful remembrance of their most happy life together 1899-1910. ♫." Given in June, 1911, together with a written wish that it should be placed on the High Altar at Christmas and Easter during the Holy Communion. This wish is always carried out.

(16) Cross, silver gilt, made in two parts, set with over two hundred precious stones and crystals, standing on the high altar. Given in 1886, at first anonymously, by Canon J. Rawlinson.

(17) Cross, Indian gold, set with amethysts. Standing on the altar of St. Anselm's Chapel and given in 1891 by two members of the Holland family.

(18) Vergers' Staves or Maces, silver, 1660; two in number, 3 ft. 6 in. long, with an oval plate at the top bearing on one side the arms of the Dean and Chapter, on the other those of the See. In the middle of the stem and at the bottom are two small bands of simple foliation, the extreme ends swell out into a knob.

(19) Folio Bible, in silver gilt covers. Given in 1660 by Dean Turner.

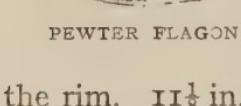
In a cupboard in the Treasury are to be seen a chasuble, dalmatic, and tunicle made to the order of the late Dean Farrar as replicas of the vestments used by Becket and now preserved in the Cathedral at Sens. With these exceptions, which are not for use, the metropolitical church has no vestments.

The Huguenots possess a little plate in their church in the crypt as follows:—

(1) Six (formerly eight) Communion cups, silver, 1631-2. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, mouth 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter; with baluster stem on splayed feet and three lines incised on the edges. Marks, London, date letter 1631-2 and maker's mark IT with two pellets above and one below in a double heart. Each cup is inscribed "A l'église Vuallonne de Cantorbery 1632," and beneath each foot are the initials B. I.M.

Mr. E. A. Jones from whose book this description is taken thinks that these probably refer to Jean Bulteel, who was pastor at this time, and his wife Marie.

(2) Pewter flagon, c.1650. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; has a globular body with long slender spout joined at the top to the body by a horizontal bar. Thumb piece is a "double volute with a heart on it and crown stamped at back." The handle has one mark, viz. the initials I.H. with (?) a bird below.



PEWTER FLAGON

(3) Pewter plates, five in number, with initials A.S. on the rim. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter.

(4) Communion cloth, 1704, with Christ at the well with the woman of Samaria.

BELLS

Originally there was a detached campanile or Bell Tower, known as the "Clocarium," on the right-hand side of the roadway about opposite St. Anselm's Tower, and in this the early bells were hung. Prior Ernulph was the first to give a bell, followed by Priors Conrad and Wibert, the latter of whom gave, c.1160, a very large specimen. This required thirty-two men to ring it, which, as Mr. Stahlschmidt has pointed out, would have been done, Continental fashion, by their standing on planks affixed to the headstock. This campanile

was afterwards destroyed by the earthquake of 1382 which seems to have done a good deal more damage than is usually supposed (see elsewhere). In 1317 Prior Eastry put three bells in the Central Tower, to which, in 1408, Archbishop Arundel added four heavy ones, which may only have been the recast bells which had been cracked in the fall of the bell tower, and these then became known as the "Arundel Ring."

On the rebuilding of the central tower this peal was moved to the north-west tower, which, as already mentioned, became known therefrom as the "Arundel Tower," some five smaller bells remaining behind which were confiscated at the Dissolution; so that, from 1540 onwards, there has been only one bell in the central tower. This is the descendant of the bell called "Henry" which was given by Eastry in 1288 to be used for calling together Chapter and which probably always hung there. The Sacrist's accounts for the year 1452 refer to the following purchase : *Item pro j clapir de belle hary, 2s. 6d.* It will therefore be clear from these dates that the bell gave its name to the tower, and that Henry VIII had nothing to do with it, as has been sometimes suggested. The present bell hangs on the leads outside at the top of the tower and, besides ringing for mattins and evensong, it sounds the curfew every night at 8 p.m. and on the death of the Sovereign or archbishop is tolled for one hour. It also used to be rung at 5.45 a.m. in the summer and 6.45 a.m. in the winter, probably as an "Ave" bell, but since the recent introduction in 1921 of a daily

celebration it is only rung in the early morning for that service. It bears the inscription “‘ Bell Harry’ Joseph Hatch me Fecit 1635.”

The Dunstan or Oxford Steeple (i.e. the south-west tower) took its first name from the bell “Dunstan” which, according to Stone, was cast in 1430 at London but was not blessed until 1459 by Richard Rossensis “episcopus suffraganeus” to the archbishop. (The temptation to call him Richard of Rochester is great, but as a matter of fact there was no bishop of this name in that see at the time, and this man was rector of Otford and titular bishop of Ross.) This bell has been re-cast several times, the last being in 1762, and it now weighs upwards of seventy hundredweight. It also is on the leads outside and is used as the clock bell. Inside this tower there were formerly other bells which, however, were sold in 1726 and their places taken by the old “Arundel Ring,” the six bells of which were re-cast to make eight. Two more have since been added, making a ring of ten in all, and there is an intention, if possible, to bring the peal up to twelve as a memorial to such of the local bell ringers as fell in the war.

In 1897 the bells were rehung by T. Blackburn, of Salisbury, on a steel frame, and quarter chimes were added, founded on the eighth Gregorian Tone, to commemorate the coming, in 597, of St. Augustine to England. The minute books of the bell-ringers go back for some 130 years, and on the last night of the old year of 1921, one of the ringers, Mr. A. A. Andrews, had the satisfaction of ringing in his fiftieth New Year.

The following shortened descriptions are taken from Mr. J. H. Stahlschmidt's "Church Bells of Kent":—

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|------------|---|
| I. | $31\frac{1}{2}$ | in. diam., | Thomas Mears London fecit.
A.D. 1802. Pace reddita. |
| II. | 32 | " | T. Mears fecit 1802. |
| III. | 34 | " | S.K. 1726. (for Samuel
Knight of Holborn).
A.D. MDCCCLV. |
| | | | C. and G. Mears, Founders,
London. |
| IV. | 36 | " | Sam Knight, 1726. |
| V. | 38 | " | { S.K.
R.B. 1726. |
| VI. | 40 | " | S.K. 1726.
A.D. MDCCCLV.
C. and G. Mears, Founders,
London. |
| VII. | $43\frac{1}{2}$ | " | S.K. 1727. |
| VIII. | $46\frac{1}{2}$ | " | S.K. fecit 1728. |
| IX. | $51\frac{1}{2}$ | " | S.K. fecit 1726. |
| X. | $57\frac{1}{2}$ | " | YE RINGERS ALL THAT PRIZE
YOUR HEALTH AND HAPPIN-
NESS
BE SOBER MERRY WISE &
YOU'LL THE SAME POSSESS.
Pack and Chapman of Lon-
don, Fecit 1778. |

Clock Bell, "Dunstan," 70 in. diam., Lester and Pack of London, Fecit 1762. Wm. Chapman molded me.

ORGAN

From very early days organs of a kind were used in the larger churches, and many quaint specimens may be seen in ancient illuminated manuscripts. Keys were not introduced until the eleventh century and the instrument was of very little more use than to give the note upon which the singers were to start.

Comparatively little is known about the history of that at Canterbury, but we are told that Conrad put an organ upon the upper story of the southwest transept which, in the fourteenth century, was moved on to a large corbel projecting above the arch of St. Michael's Chapel. The underside of this corbel was later on concealed by paintings on curved boards of four of the great Fathers of the Church, two of which, St. Gregory and St. Augustine, remain to-day, touched up and restored early in the nineteenth century. They probably date from the fifteenth century. From there the organ was moved up to the pulpitum or loft at the west end of the quire, and it was while in this place that we get the first definite mention, in the "Acta Capituli" for 1564, of the organ's position.

There are several mentions of the organ previous to this. In 1334 a new one was bought. In 1420, with reference to the death of John Boorne, precentor, Stone points out, *tamen non fuit organista* (nevertheless he was not the organist), but he had a very good voice. Again, the next year he also says on the death of John Stanys that he was *suo tempore organista praecipuus* (in

his day a first rate organist). In 1540 there were "In the quire ij peire of organs," in which connexion it should be remembered that the word "pair" when used in early days did not necessarily mean a "couple." It frequently meant a "set," in the same way that in present times it is customary to talk about a "pair of steps" meaning really a "set of steps." In earlier days the word in that sense was also applied freely to vestments, beads, clothes, etc., and in the case of organs merely meant a set, or number, of pipes making up one complete instrument. The two pairs of organs mentioned above may therefore mean either a large organ with two sets of pipes, or the regular instrument together with a small portative organ from another part of the church put up beside it. A large church frequently had two or three small organs in different parts of the building. In the year 1564 already mentioned another organ was purchased and then placed in the north quire aisle, thus causing the blocking up of the most westerly window there to allow of the staircase up to it. In 1573 there was payment to "the Quene's orgayne-maker . . . to viewe and mende the greate orgaynes" and this was done by Jasper Blanckard, some five years later at a cost of twenty pounds. The Brit. Mus. Lansd. MS. 213 mentions a great organ in the quire and goes on to refer to "the fayre organ sweet and tunable and a deep and ravishing consort of quiristers and a snowy cloud of the King's Schollers which was fifty in number." The last mentioned refers to the boys of the King's School, adjoining the precincts, and

the oldest public school in England. They have the south-east transept set apart as their chapel, and any Sunday during term their "snowy cloud" can be seen passing between the school and the Cathedral.

Of all these older organs nothing remains to-day except a squarish box about two or three feet high with two folding doors on the panels of which are painted the arms of Dean Bargrave "or, on a pale gules a sword erect argent hilted and pomelled or, on a chief of the third three besants," and those of the Dean and Chapter respectively. Of its internal economy very little is now left. At the time of the Puritan troubles the organ or "case of whistles" as they called it, came in for its full share of troubles and from then onwards it has been renovated, altered, and repaired many times by such well-known builders, among others, as "Father Smith" and Samuel Green. Towards the end of the eighteenth century it returned to its old position on the western quire screen but within a few years went to its present resting-place in the upper south triforium.

The present instrument is a fine piece of work by Henry Willis in 1886 incorporating some of Greene's diapasons. Messrs. Wm. Hill & Son and Norman & Beard, Ltd., the famous builders, who are now in charge, kindly write to say that they believe Willis included in this organ portions of an organ built by him for the Inventions Exhibition. They go on to point out that the existing electro-pneumatic action with a "length of cable from the console to the organ" of "about 120 feet"

embodying "about nineteen miles of wire," is that originally installed, "a fact which speaks for the reliability and durability of electric actions when properly constructed." They themselves, in 1905, added five new stops to the pedal organ, including the 32 ft. open diapason of wood, and installed a Kinetic Fan Blower delivering wind at $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. and 16 in. pressures.

Messrs. Norman & Beard have also kindly checked the following present-day specification which, with the list of organists, has been taken from Messrs. Woodroffe & Danks' book :

Specification

GREAT ORGAN

1. Double open diapason, metal, 16 ft.
2. Open diapason (large), 8 ft.
3. Open diapason (small), 8 ft.
4. Salicional, 8 ft.
5. Stopped diapason, metal to mid C, 8 ft.
6. Claribel flute, 8 ft.
7. Principal, 4 ft.
8. Flute harmonique, 4 ft.
9. Twelfth, 3 ft.
10. Fifteenth, 2 ft.
11. Piccolo, 2 ft.
12. Mixture (four ranks).
13. Double trumpet, 16 ft.
14. Cornopean, 8 ft.
15. Clarion, 4 ft.

SWELL ORGAN

16. Double open diapason, metal and wood, 16 ft.
17. Open diapason, 8 ft.
18. Lieblich gedacht, 8 ft.
19. Salcional, 8 ft.
20. Vox angelica, 8 ft.
21. Octave, 4 ft.
22. Flageolet, 2 ft.
23. Mixture (three ranks).
24. Contrafagotto, 16 ft.
25. Trumpet, 8 ft.
26. Hautboy, 8 ft.
27. Vox humana, 8 ft.
28. Clarion, 4 ft.

SOLO ORGAN (in swell box)

29. Flute harmonique, 8 ft.
30. Concert flute, 4 ft.
31. Orchestral oboe, 8 ft.
32. Corno-di-bassetto, 8 ft.
33. Tuba, 8 ft.
34. Clarion, 4 ft.

CHOIR ORGAN

35. Lieblich gedacht, 16 ft.
36. Lieblich gedacht, 8 ft.
37. Open diapason, 8 ft.
38. Dulciana, 8 ft.
39. Flauto traverso, 8 ft.
40. Flute, 4 ft.
41. Gemshorn, 4 ft.
42. Corno-di-bassetto, 8 ft.

PEDAL ORGAN

- 43. Double open diapason, wood, 32 ft.
- 44. Open diapason, wood, 16 ft.
- 45. Open diapason, metal, 16 ft. (not yet inserted).
- 46. Violone, metal, 16 ft.
- 47. Bourdon, wood, 16 ft.
- 48. Octave, metal, 8 ft.
- 49. Flute, wood, 8 ft.
- 50. Violoncello, metal, 8 ft.
- 51. Posanne, metal, 16 ft.
- 52. Clarion, metal, 8 ft.

LIST OF ORGANISTS

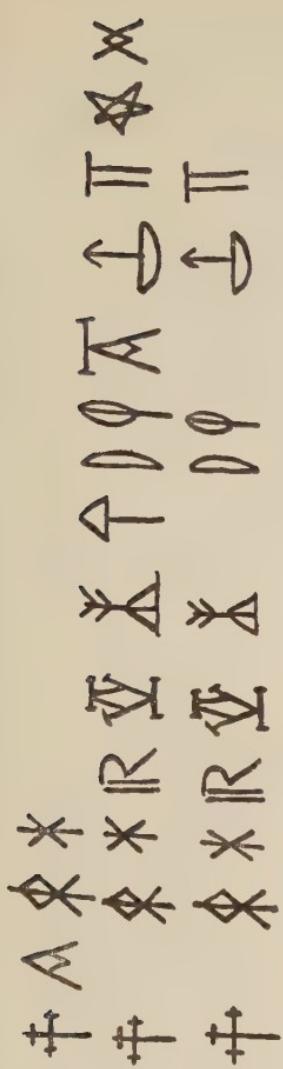
- John Moundfeld, died 1407.
- William Bonyngton, died 1411.
- William (?) John Stanys, died 1420
(?) 1421.
- John Cranbroke, died 1445.
- Thomas Chart, died 1499.
- 1534. John Wodynsborowe.
- 1547. William Selby.
- 1553-8. Thomas Bull.
- 1558. William Selby, restored.
- 1583. Matthew Godwin, Mus. Bac., afterwards
went to Exeter Cathedral.
- 1590. Thomas Stores.
- 1598. George Marson, M.A.
- 1631. Valentine Röther.
- 1640. Thomas Tunstall.
- 1661. Thomas Gibbes.
- 1669. Richard Chomley.
- 1675. Robert Wren.

1692.	Nicholas Wotton.
1697.	William Porter.
1698.	Daniel Henstridge.
1736.	William Raylton.
1757.	Samuel Porter.
1803.	Highmore Skeats, formerly organist of Ely Cathedral.
1831.	Thomas Evance Jones.
1873.	William Henry Longhurst, F.R.C.O., Mus. Doc., Cantuar.
1898.	Harry Crane Perrin, afterwards went as Professor of Music to McGill Uni- versity, Montreal.
1908.	Clement Charlton Palmer, F.R.C.O., Mus. Doc., Oxon.

MASON MARKS AND GRAFFITI

This Cathedral is peculiarly rich in marks and scratchings of all kinds and offers a fine field of search to those interested in such things.

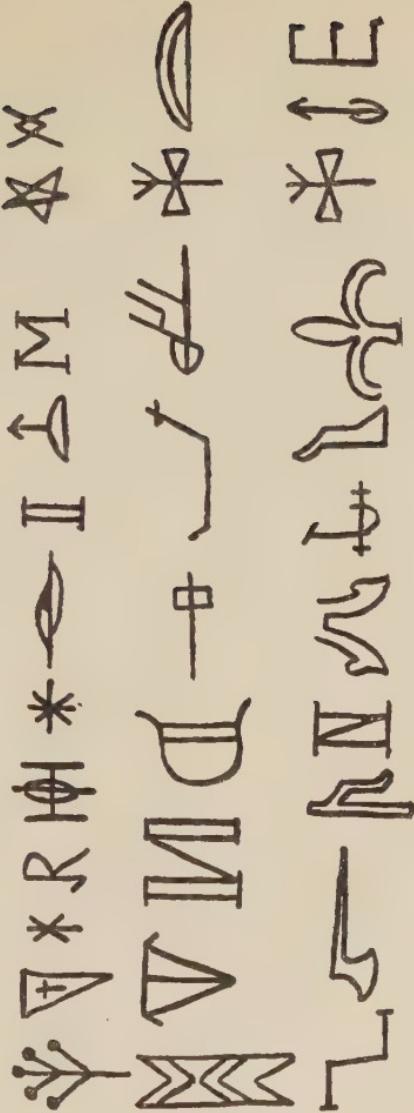
It is doubtful whether any marks of Lanfranc's date are discoverable, but presumably some of the masonry in the nave aisle walls is his and therefore bears some marks of his time. The only specimens which seem likely to be so are a large N or Z which is unfortunately common to most periods, and a V which appears a few times. A large proportion of the stones there have two marks, but the second is quite obviously that of the fourteenth and fifteenth century mason who refaced and reset the old stone for the new nave. Marks belonging to Ernulph's workmen are common in the quire aisle,



Ernulf crypt.

Ernulf choir
aisles.

Crypt, west
wall and pro-
jections.



Eastern tran-
septs, apse
walls.

South-east tran-
sept, trifor-
ium level.

William the
Englishman,
Tri n i t y
Chapel.

arcadings, and scarce in the crypt, where the very rough facing of the stone and the plentiful remains of the "dealbacio" or whitewashing of the church at all periods, together combine to disappoint the collector. In the eastern transepts, especially in the apses, are many marks which might be expected to belong to Ernulph's time but they are not found in the quire aisles and look much more after the style of the workmen of William the Englishman. It is clear that much internal alteration was done to these transepts by the two Williams, chiefly the Englishman, indeed the whole of each eastern wall seems to have had a facing of stone added on, and this looks to apply to the internal walls of the apses also, in which case they will have to be assigned to the second William, or perhaps to a gang belonging to the first.

The Trinity Chapel and staircase by Becket's Crown have an exceedingly fine range of marks about which there can be no doubt, while the Deans' Chapel, together with those of St. Michael and Henry IV and the nave piers, provide a very fair selection of examples of the Perpendicular period. A few mid nineteenth century mason or banker marks are also to be seen in the passage between the two cloisters.

Graffiti, or scratchings, are extraordinarily numerous, some being on a large scale, as, for example, that already referred to (p. 100) in the Trinity Chapel crypt. Initials and dates going back to sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and generally within a square frame, are common everywhere. Sometimes the frame is adorned

Becket's Crown,
staircase.

Deans' Chapel.

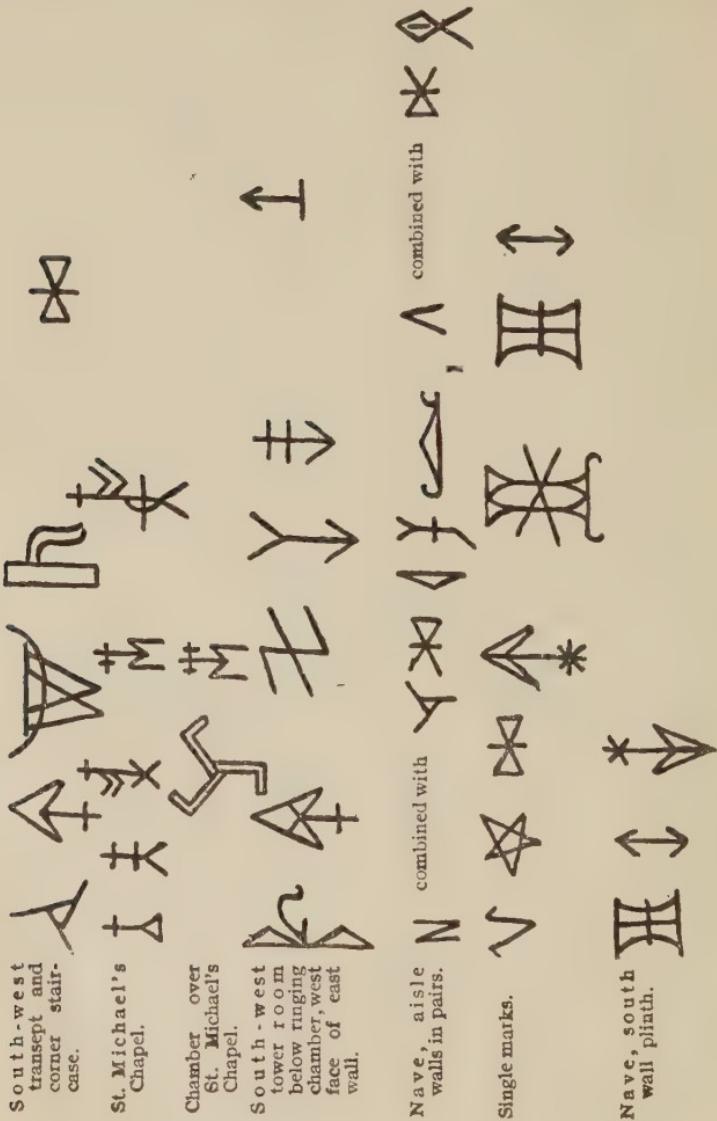
Henry IV's
Chapel.

Bell Harry and
nave piers.

South entrance
door to crypt.

Treasury.

with a flag on the top, while one in the south quire aisle looks suspiciously like a very tolerable representation of Lanfranc's north-west tower when



compared with the latter in the engravings of Dart and other writers. The south-west transept provides an elaborate view of Dover Castle which tells you definitely what it is in case the drawing should fail to convey the right impression! In the staircase wall leading up to the room above St. Michael's Chapel are the initials E.R. within some quite good and delicate scroll-work, while Henry IV's Chapel has more than one interesting account for images and their cost, scratched on its eastern wall, and close by on the north wall of the Trinity Chapel is the rude figure of a man and also what look to be representations of a chalice, paten, and wafers.

Finally there are two kinds of Maltese cross (see illustration, p. 180), one on either jamb of the Norman window in the house of the archdeacon, which have been said to be mason marks. They are about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. deep with neatly cut and still perfectly sharp edges which show no sign of having been exposed to the weather for about 250 years. Their whole design and treatment is clearly not Norman and they are more probably due to the whiling away of his time by one of the workmen employed by Prior Chillenden in casing over the house front (see next chapter). The trefoil adjoining is a mere rough scratching which might possibly be an earlier mark.

THE ARCHDEACON

This official, known in the ordinary diocese as the "oculus episcopi," the bishop's eye, holds at Canterbury an even more important position

by virtue of the fact that he is the representative of the primate. He is, as Harpsfield, himself archdeacon during the reign of Queen Mary of unhappy memory, calls him, "antesignanus" all other archdeacons. His office has existed from very early times, the "archidiaconus" in 805 and onwards signing deeds as such. In those days he seems to have been a kind of bishop suffragan of St. Martin in suburbio Cantuariense as well, so that he was able to deputize completely for the archbishop throughout the city and diocese of Canterbury. In the event of the see being vacant he exercised jurisdiction by authority of the Chapter over the whole of the southern province. In 1035 Canute gave to Eadsin, Bishop of St. Martin's, various properties for the benefit of Christ Church, as the records state, which seems to argue a close connexion between the bishop and the monks.

Lanfranc, however, saying that there ought not to be two bishops in one city, altered the old arrangement, abolished the episcopal office altogether and, when reappointing, made the status of his official that of an archdeacon pure and simple. The holder of the office seems to have been chosen from among the Christ Church monks and, in synods, to have sat *pari ornatu* with the prior of the convent. In 1075 one of the witnesses to the Council of London signs immediately after the archbishops and bishops as, *Ego Anschitillus Sanctae Dorobernensis Ecclesiae Archidiaconus*, which shows how important at this date was considered his rank. Archbishop Richard (1174-84)

gave a grant of jurisdiction which has been preserved, wherein he empowered the archdeacon (1) to install deans on the previous advice of the archbishop, (2) to have the custody and incomings of such vacant benefices as were not in the gift of the archbishop, (3) to take pleas in the ecclesiastical court with all fees arising from the demesnes of the Primate and the Priory in the archdeaconry of Canterbury, (4) and all payments for pleas of his archdeaconry wherever held, (5) to institute incumbents to vacant benefices during the archbishop's absence, provided they were not in the latter's own gift, and (6) to induct all parsons into possession of their church when instituted.

In 1227 Archbishop Stephen Langton, when making his brother Simon his Archdeacon, took occasion to enlarge the jurisdiction, with the consent, be it noted, of the Chapter, Prior, and Convent, by making subject to the archdeacon all those parished in his own gift and in that of his Chapter which hitherto had been exempt from archidiaconal visitations. In fact the whole diocese was now to be subject as regards the correction of manners, the visitation of churches, and all other matters pertaining to the office of the archdeacon. By this same deed it was laid down that this grant of jurisdiction was to be in perpetuity to each succeeding holder of the post; and not, as hitherto, to be considered as a personal grant which would lapse on the death of the then archdeacon. At the same time the churches of Tenham and Hackington were attached to the archdeacon for maintenance purposes, and in the latter place he made his home

until Henry VIII's reign, having previously had a house just outside the north gate near the monastery of St. Gregory.

It will have been noted that the Monastery of Christ Church has always had a large share in the appointment of the archdeacon, and therefore it is not surprising to find that difficulties continually arose between the two whenever the see was vacant. In early days this was a serious matter, for the appointment of a successor to a deceased Primate often did not take place for years and in the meanwhile archiepiscopal business had to be carried on. The quarrel was always over those matters which the archbishops had been accustomed to keep in their own hands, such as the decision in all matrimonial cases and the presenting to vacant benefices. The archdeacon claimed to act on these occasions *authoritate ordinaria*, and this claim the monastery always resisted, the result usually being a compromise of a temporary character. In 1374, and again in 1381, the prior and convent seized the opportunity, during a simultaneous voidance both of the See and of the archdeaconry, to appoint an archdeacon who, in each case, was compelled at the same time to take an oath of canonical obedience to them *vacatione durante*.

A very ancient prerogative belonging to this office is that of enthroning by mandate from the archbishop a newly consecrated bishop in his Cathedral and investing him with the temporalities of his see. Formerly the archdeacon received from the bishop a horse, a travelling cloak, and

ten marks towards his expenses, together with a silver or gilt cup from which at the subsequent meal the newly installed bishop would first drink before yielding it up *ad Archidiaconi commodum* for the benefit of the archdeacon ! In the case of a new archbishop the archdeacon also inducts, in this case under mandate from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury as guardians of the spiritualities during the vacancy of the see. This little point refers us back to the old feud of earlier days between the two parties as already mentioned, and shows that the monastery, and their successors the Dean and Chapter, made good their claims as against the archdeacon.

THE SIX PREACHERS

The Six Preachers of Canterbury are an institution peculiar to this Cathedral. Six in number, as their name tells us, they are first found among Henry VIII's statutes for his new foundation. Statute No. 21 deals with the "Concionatores," who were designed to assist the Canons by means of preaching twenty sermons each per annum in the various parishes belonging to the Cathedral, both in the city itself and in the neighbouring country round about. In addition, they were required to preach in turn on the following days in the Cathedral, except when any of these days fell on a Sunday, viz. : All Saints' Day, Feast of the Circumcision, Feast of the Epiphany, Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Rogation Days, Tuesday in Whitsun week, and the Nativity of

St. John Baptist. Whenever one of these preachers was at home but not due to preach he was obliged to attend mattins and evensong *habitu choro et gradui competenti* on pain of a fine of two shillings and sixpence!

They were each given a house, or portion of a house, within the precincts wherein they were expected to live and sleep, with the threat hanging over their head of a fine of ten shillings for every occasion of absence! To enable them to do their work away in the country round they were allowed horses with stable and hay-loft. The remuneration for their "painful" efforts was £24 2s. 2d. per annum together with free firewood. Ranking next after the canons, they were to take their meals at the dean's or canons' table and were to sit next to the latter in the quire. They were to be chosen and appointed by the archbishop only, and had their own form of admission to their duties together with a special oath for the due performance thereof.

In modern days the need for their special form of ministry is not so necessary, and their duties are now confined to the preaching of two sermons each in the Cathedral during the year.

THE CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL BUG

To this Cathedral belongs one other curious distinction, namely, that of housing a tiny animal of the tick family which is not found anywhere else in England. Tradition has it that it was brought over from the East by some of the many pilgrims to the shrine or possibly by the Crusaders on their

return from the Holy Land. In appearance the insect is very flat with a hard, bluntly pear-shaped back from beneath which protrude eight legs when the creature is in motion. This flat back is said to have the tints of tortoiseshell when examined under the microscope, but otherwise the colouring is greyish brown. It is found now and again in the Cathedral in crannies and nooks in the walls or even on the nave piers and such like inhospitable places ! The accompanying letter from the Natural History Department of the British Museum gives further information, but unfortunately seems to throw doubts upon what is, in any case, a most interesting tradition. "The species of arthropod which you refer to in your letter is a tick (*Argas reflexus*, *Fabricius*). It is parasitic on pigeons, sucking their blood, and apparently is only found in North Africa, China, and Europe. It seems a rare species and so far, in this country, it has only been found in Canterbury Cathedral. An allied but quite distinct species, *Argas persicus*, occurs on poultry, etc., in Persia and many other parts of the world but not in the temperate regions such as England. The people who think it (*Argas reflexus*) has been introduced by Crusaders may perhaps have confused it with *Argas persicus*. *Argas reflexus* is very tenacious of life and has been known to live over five years without taking any nourishment."

It may be mentioned, for what it is worth, that to within quite recent times there were many pigeons in Canterbury, but the appearance of one or two sparrow hawks quickly accounted for them and to-day there seem to be few or none.

DIMENSIONS

Kindly supplied by the Clerk of the Works

INTERNAL MEASUREMENTS

Total length	515 ft. 6 in.
Nave to entrance of quire	215 ft.
Width of quire	39 ft. 8 in.
Width of nave and aisles	71 ft. 6 in.
Length of western transepts, N. to S.	125 ft.
Length of eastern transepts, N. to S.	155 ft. 8 in.
Height of nave	80 ft.
Height of Bell Harry tower	235 ft.
Height of Bell Harry lantern	126 ft.
Height of south-west tower	156 ft.
Presbytery at its widest	41 ft. 5 in.

CLOISTERS

North side	134 ft. 6 in.
South side	133 ft. 3 in.
East side	131 ft.
West side	133 ft. 3 in.

CHAPTER IV

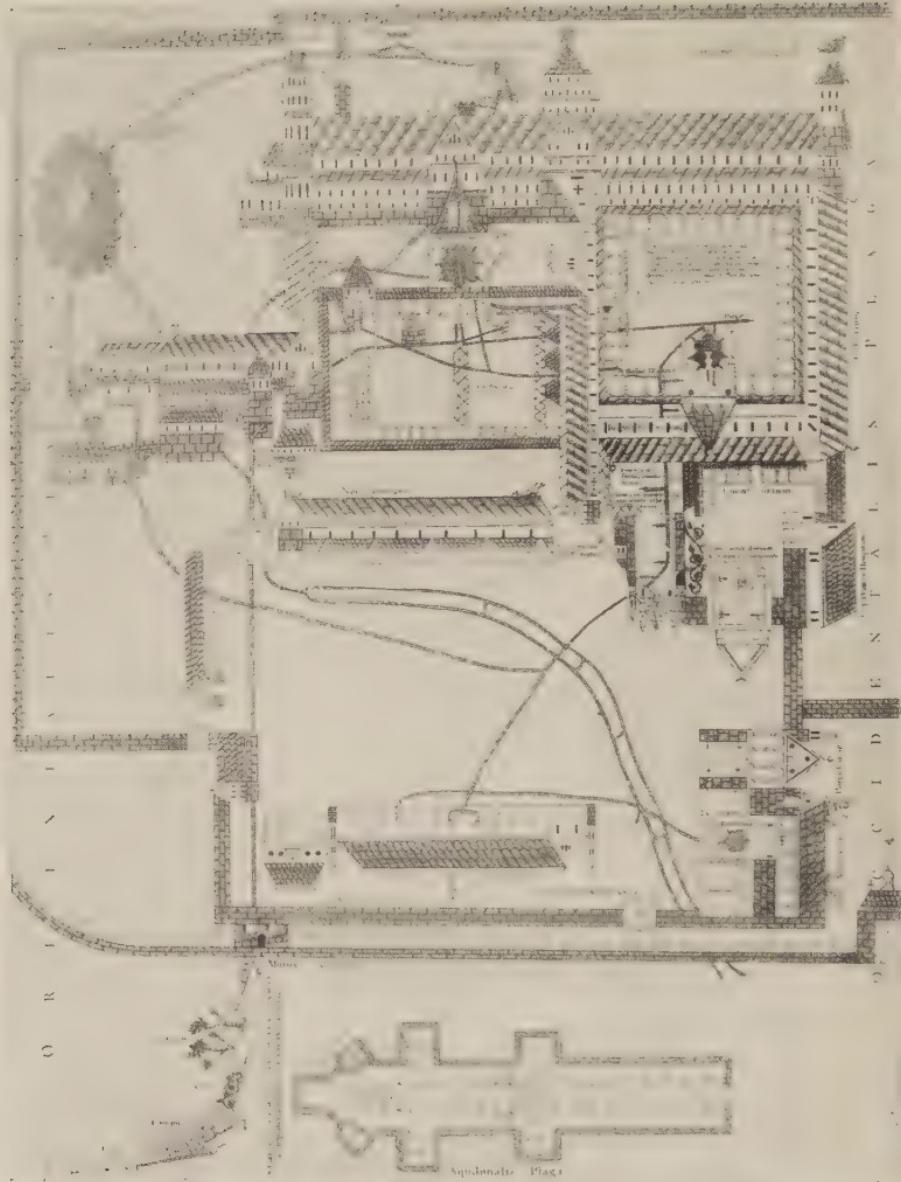
THE MONASTERY AND ITS BUILDINGS

THERE seems to be very little known about the early history of the monastery which can be considered really authentic. Such rules as there were seem not to have been of any very stringent character, for, from time to time, secular monks seem to have been found joining in with the regulars. Indeed "their presence," as Messrs. Woodruff and Danks point out, "would naturally tend to a relaxation of the Benedictine rule, never a very strict one—until no great difference could be distinguished between those who were under vows and those who were not," and William of Malmesbury even accuses the monks of having a household which "resembled the establishment of some great officer of state rather than that of a monastery." It is true that Archbishop Aelfric, c.995, endeavoured to alter matters by expelling the secular clerks but it seems doubtful whether there was any very definitely organized, or at any rate disciplined, community until Norman times.

With the coming of Lanfranc the house was thoroughly set in order. The remains of the old monastery, which had escaped the fire, were repaired and added to temporarily, though afterwards pulled down, it is said entirely, to make

way for the better and larger accommodation required by the increased number of monks. Order and discipline were brought no less into their lives, and from this time forward the Prior of Christ Church is really such in name and fact. However, they had by no means committed themselves to a life of dreariness, for they soon gained, and always afterwards kept, a great reputation for hospitality to visitors. At times indeed it was such as to be almost a burden, as, for example, in the case of the translation of St. Thomas in 1220, the expenses of which it took several years to defray. Much depended, of course, upon the abilities of the priors as business men and disciplinarians, but taken as a whole it may be allowed that their responsibilities were well carried out. About 1160 Prior Wibert, one of the many building priors, rendered an incalculable service to the monastery by the making of his elaborate system of waterworks. It is hardly too much to say that this achievement must have had an enormous, if indirect, effect upon the lives of generations of monks. In days when personal cleanliness and efficient drainage were practically unknown and when disease in consequence was always rampant, the advantages of a continual supply of fresh water and an elaborate scheme for a thorough flushing of gutters and sewers must have been tremendous.

With a gift of land about a mile out of the town to the north-east where "springs burst forth and flowed down to a pond," Wibert found his water supply which he duly harnessed and brought to his monastery where, distributed by a series of



THE WATERWORKS SYSTEM

pipes to all parts, it finally ran through the "Necessarium" out into the city ditch. As a matter of fact, this water supply is still available for parts of the precincts, and, although "Company's water" is now laid on, the old original source is still at hand in case of emergency. By a stroke of good fortune the original plan of these waterworks was discovered inside a Psalter belonging to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the illustration (opposite) from an engraving by G. Vertue for the Society of Antiquaries will give some little idea of how matters were arranged. At the same time nothing obviously but a plan on a large scale will be able to convey the ingenuity and skill of the arrangements for which the reader is referred to Professor Willis's detailed account in Vol. VII of *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

If it be asked how the monks employed their time, the answer will be much the same as in the case of any other monastery, except that the Benedictine rule allowed of more relaxation than some of the other orders.

The officials clearly had much business with which to deal owing to the gradually increasing importance and prestige of the monastery, due to the "cultus" of St. Thomas and the resulting benefactions made to the Priory. Large estates required much attention, a big monastery involved much detailed work whether in matters of discipline or general management, while all heads of departments were expected to keep and produce their particular accounts which, in view of the heavy expenditure, must in themselves have been no

light task. The Sub-Prior would no doubt frequently find himself in charge during the absences of the Prior on business outside, the Sacrist as being responsible for the upkeep of the fabric of the church and proper preparation for the services, the Cellarer in charge of the catering for this large family and so commonly known from the fourteenth century as the "Father" of the monastery, the Chamberlain and many others, one and all must have spent busy days each in his own particular line. Constant visitors, many of the highest rank—for Canterbury was then on practically the only high road between London and the Continent—involved constant hospitality. Kings and Queens in their journeys to and fro were not unknown and many, like Henry VI, often came *pedester causâ peregrinacionis*, on foot by way of pilgrimage. Such a visit caused much disturbance, and required the welcome of the august arrival at the outer gate by monks arrayed in copes (if the visitor were less important they appeared only *in froccis!*), together with all the attendant ceremonies.

What applied to the officials applied also in a lesser degree to the ordinary brothers. First and foremost there were the many services of the church to be performed and masses to be said at the various altars, to say nothing of the observance of the innumerable saints' days amongst which must not be forgotten the "Annus Jubileus," i.e. the celebration of the martyrdom of St. Thomas every fifty years, on the twentieth and seventieth year in each century. In addition there was the

work about the monastery of the ordinary kind, besides reading and instruction in the cloister, the former more particularly for the trained monk the latter for the novices. Recreation of a mild character was also included and resolved itself into the "Deportum," the "Hall of Disport" or Common Room where the brethren could foregather and talk freely, and also into some form of draughts or other game as may be seen from the many holes, like pock marks, ranged in set numbers upon the stone seats of the cloisters. Such humble necessities as the shaving of the tonsure every three weeks and the washing of feet on Saturday nights had also to be attended to, while the regular "letting" of blood at intervals ensured a few days' respite every time in the adjoining infirmary. The most noticeable feature perhaps in the plan is the building on the left marked as "Balnearium"—the bath house! Such a thing is more than unexpected at this date and doubtless would not have come into existence had it not been for the copious supply of water. How far it was used history does not say beyond the fact that baths were compulsory at Christmas and optional at other times! Space does not allow of any detailed account here of all their doings, but the chapter in Messrs. Woodruff and Danks upon the life of the monastery, from which a good deal of the above information is taken, is worth reading for the lively impression it gives of the human aspect of the Cathedral history.

As the cloisters and Chapter House are generally entered from the Cathedral it will perhaps be best

to deal with them first. Entrance is from the Martyrdom by the door through which Becket himself came in to his death, and a most interesting and beautiful door it is when seen from the cloister side (opposite). The wall at the top and on the left at the base of the staircase turret are probably Lanfranc's ashlarings and are all that is left of what Becket would have seen. Into this work has been inserted a most charming Early English doorway with two large canopied niches on either side, ornamented with the most pleasing and delightful carving of the best period in this style. Within this doorway again has been thrust, regardless of proportion or appearance, a late Perpendicular portal dating c.1490 according to Professor Willis. The cloisters themselves are on Lanfranc's original plan and offer one or two little puzzles of their own. Making the tour round, starting along the south alley, the wall on the left which is also of course that of the Cathedral has been said by some to be Lanfranc's original walling. Apart, however, from the fact that he did not use such large blocks of masonry as a general rule, what has been said when referring to this wall on the nave side seems to show that it is very unlikely that this is earlier than Prior Chillenden, who is known to have put in the present vaulting to replace the flat, wooden ceiling of Norman times. Archbishop Courtenay specifically left him by his will £200 "for building the South Pave of the Cloister." Mr. Beazeley has argued that, because the vaulting shafts are insertions in the wall, therefore the wall must be earlier, which is no



Photograph

[*Photochrom Co.*]

CLOISTER DOOR INTO MARTYRDOM



Photograph

[*Photochrom Co.*]

THE WASHING PLACES

doubt true ; but it must be remembered that the nave was finished about 1400 and the cloister work begun c.1405, and that there is no reason why the shafts should not have been afterwards let into the new wall if necessary, which would be a perfectly easy operation. There are one or two courses of small masonry at the extreme bottom of the wall at the west end which might, as being below the nave level, possibly be remains of Lanfranc's foundations.

Special notice should be given to this vaulting. In one respect this addition by Prior Chillenden caused serious damage because the side wall shafts were let into the walls with a total disregard for the latter's appearance. In some parts it did not matter but on the north wall there is a different tale to tell, as will be seen presently. On the other hand this vaulting is a most extraordinary work, for as a display of heraldry it is unsurpassed. Almost every boss, and there are about 800 or more of them in all, bears, or bore, the coat of arms either of persons supposed to be connected with the king's ancestry or who were subscribers towards this costly work. Many and various are the persons and countries represented, from Prester John, the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haco of Norway, King Arthur, and Edward the Confessor, with places so far apart as Bohemia, Castile, Constantinople, Denmark, Jerusalem, and Portugal, down to King Henry IV and many of the nobility and gentry of his time in England. For further details the reader is referred to "Archaeologia," Vol. LXVI (1895), where he will find a monumental

and exhaustive account by Mr. R. Griffin, F.S.A., the compilation of which, from the care and accuracy with which it was done, required not merely months but years.

Note, in passing along, the holes for games on the seats and also the slots in the mullions of the tracery showing where the glazing was put in for the carrels or cubicles for readers set up by Prior Sellynge in this south alley.

The western side, as having been the least frequented, is generally considered to have been the early library, or perhaps to have shared this office with the two arched openings, now walled up, to be traced outside in the south wall of the Chapter House. Here the wall is of a quite different construction and Mr. Beazeley took it to be Saxon work. It is composed of rough stone, portions of thin bricks or tiles and large flints, the whole covered with plaster. As seen on the west side from the garden of the archbishop's palace, where it is free from plaster, the most striking features are the large flints laid whole in rough herring-bone courses interspersed with the masonry and bricks. The work is not unlike that in the west wall of the crypt but is a great deal more like the internal face of Lanfranc's dormitory wall as seen on the right when entering the library. It may therefore perhaps with greater probability be assigned to that builder.

In the north-west corner is the door connecting with the archbishop's palace through which, or its predecessor in the same position, Becket also passed. Immediately at the side is a round hole through



Photograph

[*Photochrom Co.*

THE CLOISTERS FROM THE NORTH-WEST

which, from the cellarer's undercroft behind, something to drink used to be passed to a thirsty monk and is so contrived that the drawer could not see who was the recipient. Above the undercroft just mentioned was the Cellarer's Lodging where were housed what might be called the middle class visitors.

Along the north cloister alley outside there ran the refectory, frater, or monk's dining hall, about three or four feet above the level of the cloister. This Norman frater was replaced by another, 1226-36, under the supervision of John Pikenot. Of this latter there only remains some arcading at the eastern end where was the dais or high table. On the cloister side of the wall, however, there is a good deal more to be seen. Here is a very pleasing arcading of similar date arranged, as Professor Willis noticed, in blocks of four arches separated by a single arch to avoid monotony. Towards the west end is the main entrance up a few steps, which led to the refectory on the right and the buttery on the left after the fashion of the dining halls of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Opposite the entrance are the former washing places for the monks. The illustration shows two bays without any mullions and here were the washing troughs (v. opposite p. 166). In Norman times there was, instead, an octofoil basin out in the cloister garth (see waterworks plan). At the east end is a shouldered arch which led down under the frater and through into the kitchen court.

Turning round into the eastern walk, directly on the left is the old Norman entrance which led

up to the dormitory above. Round about this part the wall again shows a good deal of the rough rubble work similar to that in the west wall, but it must be remembered that serious damage was done about here by the earthquake of 1382. Further on is the passage or stype leading through to the Infirmary Cloister eastwards and beyond this again is the Chapter House. The whole of the lower half, with an area of 90 ft. by 35 ft. and arcades of trefoil pointed arches and battlemented cornice, are known to have been built in 1304 by Prior Eastry. At the eastern end there is a richer ornamentation to the arcade and a canopied throne for the prior, including the already mentioned roundels of glass in the tracery which is a very rare use for this material. About 1400 the indefatigable Prior Chillenden completed the work, refacing the eastern end externally and putting in all the windows and wooden roof. The building was restored and painted in 1897 and opened in that year by the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII. In pre-Reformation days this fine room was used for all the public business of the monastery and a short meeting was held there every morning for the giving out of notices and the exercise of discipline for minor offences. After the Dissolution so large a place was unnecessary for the then attenuated Chapter, and it was therefore fitted up with pews for preaching purposes and came in time to be known as the "Sermon House." Archbishop Laud did not approve of this arrangement because, after the service in the Cathedral, it led to an unseemly scramble for the

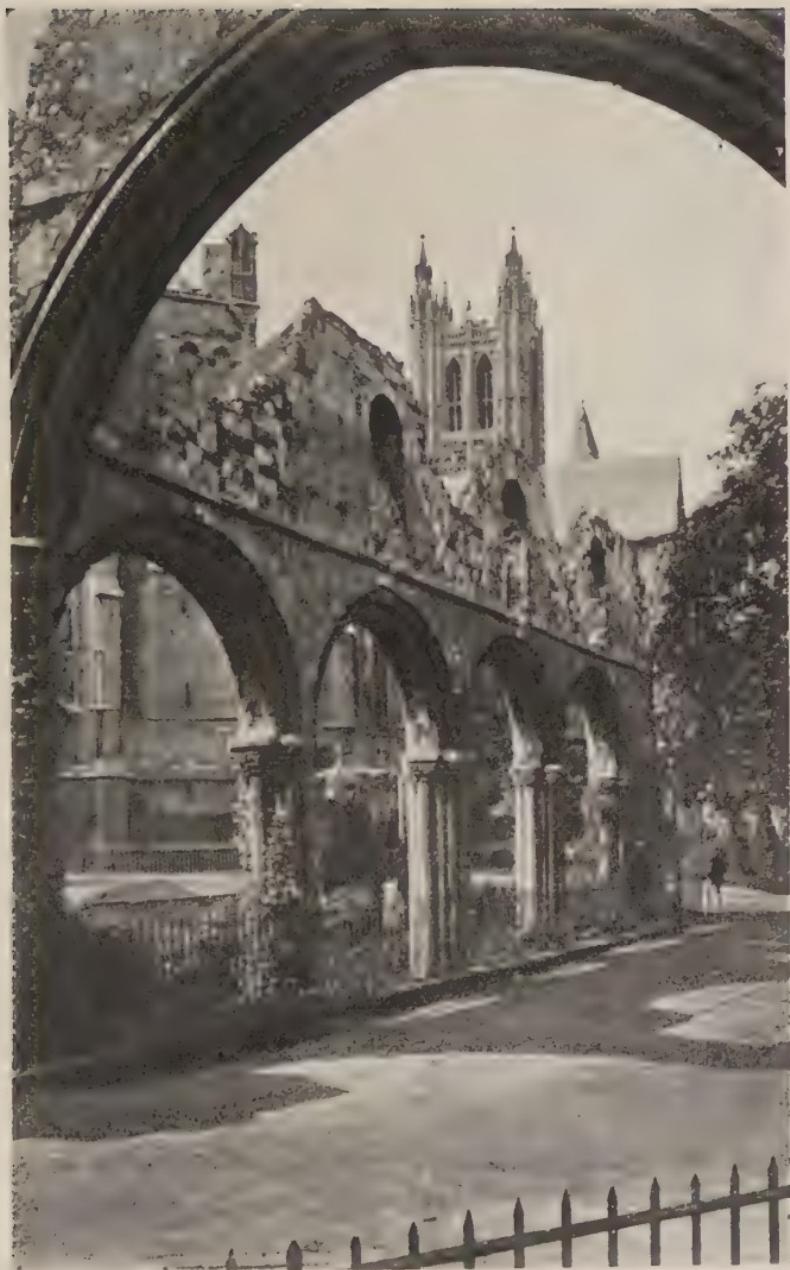
best seats, the acoustic properties of the Chapter House being poor. He therefore transferred the sermon back to the quire which roused much dissatisfaction and caused people to complain bitterly of the abolition of sermons in the "large warme and wel-seated" Sermon House, and the setting up of a pulpit in the Cathedral quire, "which is a very cold and inconvenient place." Such was the power of the sermon and the preacher in those times and still is very largely so to-day! In the eighteenth century, during the repaving of the building, the coffin of Prior Elmer, d. 1137, was found below. Between the doors of the Chapter House and Martyrdom entrance is another narrow Perpendicular opening which gives on to a little passage-way squeezed in between the Chapter House and the transept in which are the remains of Warham's chantry chapel referred to p. 34, and the possible book presses now filled in, mentioned, p. 168. Note, from the cloister garth, the numerous leaden rain water spout heads, bearing the initials I.P.T. and the date 1764, on the building round about.

Returning through the Cathedral and out at the south door, the remainder of the monastic buildings shall be taken in the order in which they are encountered during a walk round.

The Christ Church Gate, "a very goodly strong and beautiful structure and of excellent artifice" has already been mentioned (p. 25), and little more need be said about it except to call attention to the pleasing design of the iron nails with which the wooden doors are studded, the fine boss in the

vault, the interesting carved heads at the spring of the internal archway, and to point out that not only was it the entrance to the *cimiterium laicorum*, but also to the fons or cistern of water therein for general use, as well as leading to the Cathedral.

Upon reaching St. Anselm's Chapel there used to run across the road at about this point a wall, in which was the Norman gate now to be seen a little farther on in use as the entrance to the Kent War Memorial and the remains of the church of St. Mary Queningate. To the right and left respectively were the detached Campanile or Bell Tower (*v. sub Bells*) and the cistern just above mentioned. This wall and gate separated the outer from the inner or monks' cemetery, or Gymews as it was called, and from their private grounds where was situated the gift of Sir Guidon the Sacrist in 1253, namely, the piscina or fishpond so inseparable from the needs of every monastery. Passing close round by Becket's Crown, some really fine remains of Lanfranc's building appear, scorched and reddened by the flames of the great fire. These are the remains of the infirmary on the left with the chapel thereto belonging in the same line on the right. The illustration is taken from near the eastern end of the latter just beneath the beautiful Decorated window filled with a more or less star-shaped tracery distinctive of the county of Kent. All that is now left is what may be called the nave of the infirmary and the chapel, the north aisle being partly covered by a prebendary's house and the south aisle being non-



Photograph

[*Photochrom Co.*]

THE INFIRMARY CHAPEL

existent, as far as the infirmary end is concerned, except for a fragment at the eastern end of no great importance.

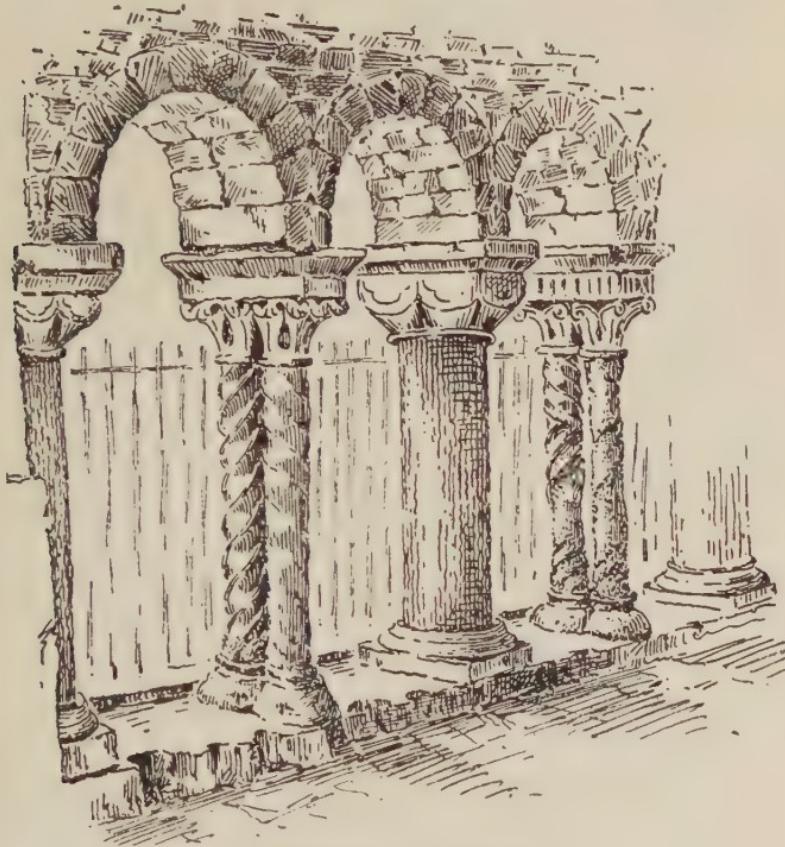
If it be thought that the accommodation for patients was over large it must be remembered that the occupants were not all necessarily sick. Of course there would always be a certain number of sufferers, some of whom were destined to die *ex pestilenciâ* or *ex astmaticâ passione*, but any monk too old or infirm to join in the full life of the monastery was here given a cubicle in which to end his days and in the south aisle there were actually the sub-prior's lodgings. The infirmary had its own kitchen, "Necessarium," and other buildings lying close by to the north, but, of these, little remains to-day except the "Mensa Magistri Infirmitorii," or "Table Hall," lying at the eastern end of the north aisle of the infirmary proper and visible to-day from the swing gate in the chapel. This "Table Hall" was built in 1342 as a refectory or dining hall for convalescent monks. When speaking of the nave mention was made of masons being sent for hurriedly to make good the damage caused by the earthquake, and an entry in the monastic accounts for 1384 shows that over £II were spent *in reparacione capelle infirmarie ex parte boriali per terremotum* (earthquake) *destructe*. This would perhaps be rather a late date for the tracery to have been inserted in the north window of the chapel, and the reparation probably took some other form. It presumably covered up the Norman wall painting which were rediscovered in 1912 during restoration.

of the infirmary chancel arch. Mr. W. D. Caroë is of opinion that they were of the same date as those in St. Gabriel's Chapel, but they have now almost entirely disappeared. Apparently the cloister wall from the door of the Chapter House as far as that of the dormitory was at the same time damaged and cost an extra £7 to repair. From the various mentions of this earthquake which have been made, it will be noticed that it was evidently a much more serious affair than has usually been thought. Not only did it bring down the Bell Tower, but, as just mentioned, it did heavy damage to three other parts of the buildings and to such an extent that skilled workmen had to be summoned in hot haste from all the neighbourhood to make good the devastation.

Beyond the chapel to the east is another prebendary's house known as "Meister Omers" and at one time part of the buildings set aside for the entertainment of more important guests. At one time the name was supposed to be derived from the French "Ormeaux," elm trees, but Dr. J. B. Sheppard proved pretty clearly, from the archives, that "Magister Homerus" or "Meiste Omers" was a man living towards the end of the thirteenth century within the Cathedral precincts, and he was inclined to the opinion that this man was attorney to the monastery.

Passing down to the end of the infirmary and through the fifteenth century door we find ourselves in what was the infirmary cloister, and which is now commonly known as the "Dark Entry." Immediately opposite is the delightful little arcade

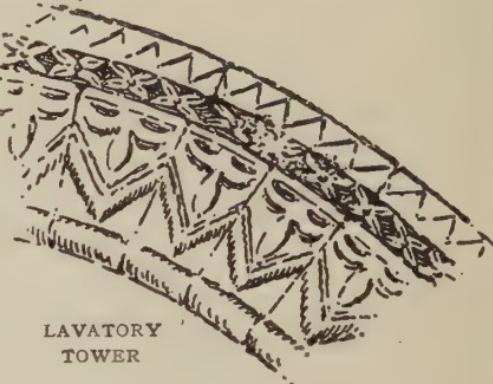
of double twisted pillars, reminiscent of the superb examples in the cloisters of St. John Lateran at Rome. This passage leads round to the Green Court beneath the old "Cheker" building, or



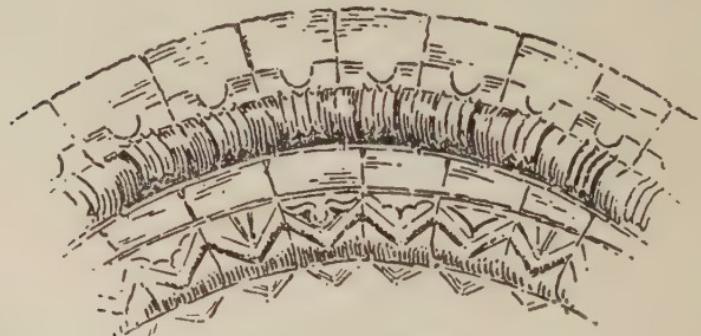
INFIRMARY CLOISTERS

counting-house of the Priory, with its stiff little tower. On the right is a richly panelled doorway giving access to the Prior's Lodgings and straight in front, over the "Prior's Entry," is a further chamber of the Prior known as the "Gloriet."

Coming out from under this and turning to the left, a tolerable view can be obtained of the rest of the more important monastic buildings. Immediately in the centre (v. opposite) is the old Lavatory Tower of two stories. The ground floor is open and possesses some very fine late Norman ornamentation on its arches, including, as a most noticeable feature, some dog-tooth ornament not yet fully developed, an ornament usually associated with the Early English style. In this case it marks a transitional stage, and the tower may therefore be dated c. 1160, the time of Prior Wibert's



LAVATORY TOWER



LAVATORY TOWER

waterworks with which it was employed; for it takes its name from the fact that the supporting columns in the centre are of a peculiar shape



Photograph

[*J. Charlton.*

THE LAVATORY TOWER

(a rectangle with one end rounded), and are arranged to allow of pipes going up inside to the washing-place on the upper floor. The water was brought here direct from the source so that the monks might wash on their way between the dormitory and the church. The upper part was rebuilt and the lower piers additionally buttressed by Prior Chillenden. It is sometimes called the "Baptistry" from the fact that Bishop Warner's font was at one time banished here, but it was never intended nor used for such a purpose as baptisms. The monks also sometimes spoke of it as "Bell Jesus" from some fancied resemblance between its pyramidal roof and one of bells of that name given by Prior Hathbrand.

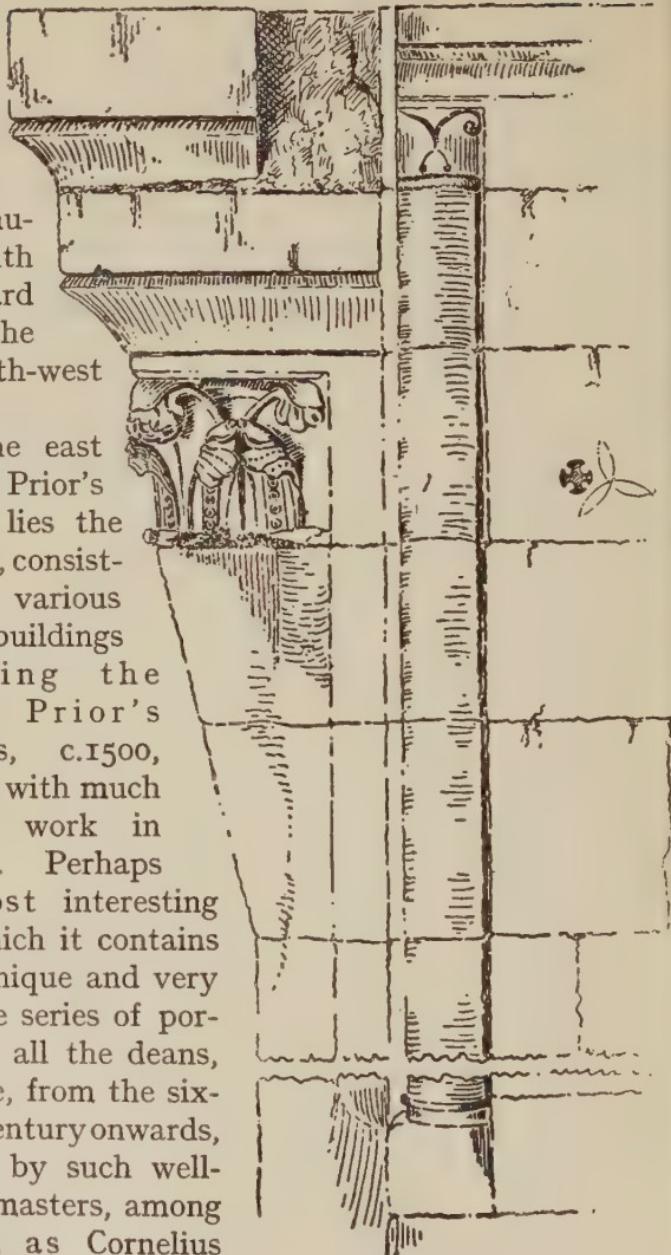
It will be noticed that all the monastic apartments were raised on arches, probably for the purpose of avoiding the damp inseparable from unwarmed rooms on the ground level, and also to give the monks an entrance to the Cathedral on the level of the raised quire. These sub-structures however formed covered ways by which the monks could go dry-shod to and from different parts of the monastery and therefore they were by no means wasted spaces. The whole passage passing behind the Lavatory Tower, which is well worth visiting for its wonderful classic Norman work, was the means of communication between the great cloister and the infirmary, and it will be observed that care was thus taken to separate as far as possible the healthy from the sickly monks. To the left of the Lavatory Tower the undercroft is all that is left of the Prior's Chapel of c.1240,

built out into the cloister garth. Upon the first floor was the chapel, and over this again was a chamber built to house the later library by Archbishop Chicheley. In the sixteenth century occurred one of the usual "combustions" which seriously damaged the MSS. and books, and about the middle of the next century, c.1665, the whole of the upper stories were pulled down and a new room built up in brick with the old English bond on the thirteenth century foundation. This room is now the Howley-Harrison Library. The sub-vaults on the right-hand side of the tower were known as the "Domus Rasturæ," or place of shaving, and carry above them the passage leading to the dormitory. This part retains much of its Norman work on the first floor and Chillenden's additions can easily be descried. Shaving, especially of the tonsure, was always an important affair, and so much so that by his statutes of 1175 Archbishop Richard laid it down that the superintendence of the hair cutting was to be the duty of the Archdeacon! Running out at right angles to this passage was the Dormitory, the west wall and windows of which alone remain incorporated in the modern Library. In the illustration there appears between the Lavatory Tower and the Library the queerly shaped eastern end of the Chapter House. From the north end of the dormitory, where are to be seen some fragments, including a somewhat uncommon vesica shaped window, stretched the "Necessarium" to join up with the "Gloriet" which in its southern portion was originally part itself of the "Necessarium."

Farther away in the south-west corner of the Green Court is the house of the Venerable the Archdeacon of Canterbury which incorporates a good deal of the ancient kitchen demesne. In the garden may be seen the remains of the monks' refectory, already mentioned, together with enough of the kitchen, erected probably by Prior Hathbrand, to show Professor Willis that it was built on similar lines to those at Glastonbury and elsewhere. With regard to the date of this kitchen, it may be well to quote an entry from the monastic accounts which, if it refers to the main kitchen, puts the date a trifle later, viz. 1371. *Novum opus. Domino Ricardo Gylyngham pro nova coquina. xiiijl. vj sol. ij den.* This house also includes the monastery larder and another guest chamber together with the Gate-house giving access to the above domestic area. The Gate house is of a fine Norman character of two different dates, as may be seen by the style and disposition of the arches on the ground level, but the whole was faced up with timberwork by Prior Chillenden and therefore the illustrated impost and jamb of a Norman window are completely hidden from outside. It may be added that the two rooms over the archway were named respectively "Paradise" and "Heaven"! At the north-west corner of this gate is a most interesting Norman staircase of an unusual type of construction, which is to-day, after 800 or more years of existence, still in constant use for household purposes. Attached to this house are also the last remaining few yards of the old "Pentise," or covered way, which led along the

w e s t
w a l l
of the
Green
Court
to commu-
nicate with
the Inward
Gate in the
far north-west
corner.

On the east of the "Prior's Entry" lies the Deanery, consisting of various older buildings including the "new" Prior's Lodgings, c.1500, together with much modern work in between. Perhaps the most interesting sight which it contains is the unique and very complete series of portraits of all the deans, save one, from the sixteenth century onwards, painted by such well-known masters, among others, as Cornelius



NORMAN WINDOW JAMB

Janssen, Romney, and Lawrence. Farther round to the north of the Green Court are the old monastic Granary, lying to the east of the large gateway leading to the Dean's stables, and the Bakehouse and Brewhouse lying to the west of the same, the last being distinguished by a projecting porch. An entry from the monastic accounts for 1224-5 shows that the *novum granarium*, or new granary, was then being built, while another for the year 1320-1 refers to building materials bought and workmen paid *pro Bracino*, for the brewhouse, the style of which is of about that date. Making towards the "Inward Gate" or main exit from the Green Court the exquisite outside staircase, with its rich Norman work, suddenly comes into view on the right leading up to what was known as the "Aula Nova" or hall set apart for the entertainment of the poorest pilgrims. The sub-structure of the hall is original work, c. 1170, and formerly extended in length for about 150 feet (v. p. 184). *Vis-a-vis* is the War Memorial of the King's School put up in 1921. It does not prevent a good view of the famous staircase, but it suffers in comparison by reason of its modernity, of course speaking solely from an architectural standpoint.

The adjoining gateway with—need it be said?—a top story added by Prior Chillenden is also a fine piece of late Norman work, especially on the western side (see illustration opposite p. 184), and leads through into the Almonry or Mint Yard. This is so-called in the first place because it was here that the daily alms, mainly in kind, were distributed, for the monasteries were ever faithful

friends to the poor ; and in the second place from the fact that the archbishop had his own mint by special permission within the precincts. In 1528 Archbishop Warham is found writing to Cardinal Wolsey to ask leave, which is granted, to continue the custom with one Owen Tomson, his keeper of the mint. The Almonry is now all part of the King's School which claims, apparently with justice, to be the oldest public school in England, in proof whereof a few remarks upon the subject will end this chapter. Of the original archbishop's palace very little remains, but what there is was carefully incorporated in the present building erected under Archbishop Temple from the design of Mr. W. D. Caroë, the architect to the Dean and Chapter.

Just a few tags, from old accounts and elsewhere, on matters relating to the monks and their monastery may be of sufficient interest to be collected here. For example, in 1222 a new chapel (not named) was being built and there is a payment *Item Benedicto Judeo vij lib. v. sol. que comodaverat priori ad eandem capellam!* This recourse of the prior to the " accommodation " of a Jewish money-lender is not so surprising when it is remembered that there had always been good feeling between the monks and the Jewish dwellers in Canterbury. Evidence of this is shown by the fact that when the monastery was besieged during the quarrel with Archbishop Baldwin, the Jews were active in smuggling through food and drink to the monks. From 1237-9 there were quite heavy payments out *in opere magne aule*, i.e. upon

the work of the Great Hall or “Aula Nova” mentioned above. In 1265 there were bought sixty-six marble columns (probably Purbeck shafts) from the monks of St. Augustine for just under one shilling apiece, and in 1434 payments were made to masons and labourers for repairs to the vault *aule sancti langfranc*. This name occurs again in 1473 when two men are paid for working, *circa granarium vocatum langfrankishalle*, but it does not seem to be known which building was intended.

Christ Church, Canterbury, had rights also upon the death of a bishop of the southern province. In the ordinary course, the law was that the king received his “heriot,” i.e. the deceased prelate’s best horse, cap, ewer, gold ring, and kennel of hounds, while his second best ring and his seals were the perquisite of the primate, or, if the see was vacant, of the Prior of Christ Church. In the cases of St. Asaph, Bangor, and Rochester, however, as being more intimately connected with the See of Canterbury, the primate stood in place of the king, and the prior in the place of the archbishop. Only if the see was vacant did the king stand in the shoes of the archbishop. During the fourteenth century these various rights were more than once successfully enforced.

In addition to the famous manor of Vauxhall, the Priory, and afterwards the Dean and Chapter, were at one time owners of an equally well-known piece of ground, viz. the site of the present Royal Exchange, which in 1566 they sold for £600 to the citizens of London !

Reverting to the King’s School, it will be worth

while to get some very slight idea of its history because it has for so long been intimately connected with, though not governed by, those in charge of the Cathedral, and also because, having occupied parts of the old monastic buildings, such references as there are to them may legitimately be included in this chapter.

In 631, then, Bede wrote of Sigebert, King of East Anglia, that he set up a school where boys were taught grammar "after the fashion of the Kentish folk." This was barely thirty years after the death of St. Augustine, and as this reference seems to show that the school was already well established, it is reasonable to suggest that it owed its origin to the "Apostle of the English." It is thought to have been placed at first just outside the outer Green Court gate and later on is described as being in the parish of St. Alphege. Eadmer the singer refers to the school and also to the custom that, five days before Christmas, the schoolboys should each receive a sound flogging, not apparently for the purpose of punishment but rather as a matter of routine!—perhaps on the analogy of a fast before a festival. The school was not placed under the jurisdiction of the Prior and monastery. Early in the thirteenth century the scholars and their school-house are referred to by Thomas of Eccleston, when relating the coming of the Franciscans into England, for a few friars were given temporary lodging under the said school-house, the use of which they were allowed when the scholars had finished for the day. In the mid thirteenth century the first



Photograph]

[Ackland & Youngman.

THE INWARD GATE



Photograph]

[Photochrom Co.

THE NORMAN STAIRCASE

"head," Master Robert, is mentioned as "rector of the schools of the City of Canterbury," and probably under him was educated another Robert who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. References hereafter to the school, or rather grammar school, are frequent in the archbishops' Registers, Monastic Rolls, and elsewhere. One of the privileges of the boys was the election of a Boy Bishop on St. Nicholas Day (December 5th), a custom common to many Cathedral churches and lasting down to the sixteenth century. With the dissolution of the monastery the archbishop's school went also, but was refounded by Henry VIII under the title of the King's School with fifty scholars under John Twysden their new *Archididascalus* or head master. They had to attend service in the Cathedral *in habitu competenti choro*, i.e. in clean surplices, and take their meals in the Pety Canons Hall, now gone, which formerly was part of the old monastic buildings on the west side of the infirmary cloister. The earlier school-house was the long building with high-pitched roof now seen, end on, opposite St. Anselm's Chapel near where the campanile formerly stood. This building was formerly the Cathedral "plumbery" and where they afterwards cast some of the bells. In 1538 the school moved to larger quarters in the Mint Yard, or Almonry of monastic days, where it still remains.

Among other scholars may be mentioned Christopher Marlowe, the dramatist, d. 1593; Thomas Linacre, d. 1524, the physician and a native of Canterbury; William Harvey, the dis-

coverer of the circulation of the blood; John Tradescant, d. 1662, the antiquary; Thurlow, Lord High Chancellor; and Walter Pater, the essayist. The average number of boys in the school is about two hundred and fifty. One interesting little point is that, in 1708, thirty-three lime trees were planted over and around the Green Court, but only a very few of the original trees remain to-day. Any reader, desiring more information about the school, cannot do better than consult Messrs. Woodruff and Capes' excellent history which has supplied most of the above information.

CHAPTER V

THE ARCHBISHOPS

(With Dates of Consecration)

	A.D.		A.D.
ST. AUGUSTINE . . .	597	LIVING . . .	1013
LAURENTIUS . . .	604	ETHELNOTH . . .	1020
MELLITUS . . .	619	EADSIGE . . .	1038
JUSTUS . . .	624	ROBERT . . .	1051
HONORIUS . . .	627	STIGAND . . .	1052
DEUSDEDIT (FRITH- ONA) . . .	655	LANFRANC . . .	1070
THEODORE . . .	668	ST. ANSELM . . .	1093
BRIHTWALD . . .	693	RALPH D'ESCURES .	1114
TATWIN . . .	731	WILLIAM DE COR- BEUIL . . .	1123
NOTHELM . . .	735	THEOBALD . . .	1139
CUTHBERT . . .	741	ST. THOMAS BECKET	1162
BREGWIN . . .	759	RICHARD . . .	1174
JAENBERHT . . .	766	BALDWIN . . .	1185
ETHELHARD . . .	793	REGINALD FITZJOCE- LYN (elected, but died before conse- cration). . .	—
WULFRED . . .	805	HUBERT WALTER .	1193
FEOLGILD . . .	832	STEPHEN LANGTON .	1207
CEOLOTH . . .	833	RICHARD LE GRAND (WETHERSHEDDE) .	1229
ETHELRED . . .	870	ST. EDMUND (RICH)	1234
PLEGMUND . . .	890	BONIFACE . . .	1245
ATHELM . . .	914	ROBERT KILWARDBY	1273
WULFHELM . . .	923	JOHN PECKHAM . .	1279
ODO . . .	942	ROBERT WINCHELSEY	1294
ALFSIN . . .	959	WALTER REYNOLDS.	1313
ST. DUNSTAN . . .	960	SIMON MEPHAM . .	1328
ETHELGAR . . .	988		
SIGERIC . . .	990		
AELFRIC . . .	995		
ST. ALPHEGE . . .	1005		

	A.D.		A.D.
JOHN STRATFORD	1333	JOHN WHITGIFT	1583
JOHN UFFORD (elected, but died before consecration)	—	RICHARD BANCROFT	1604
THOMAS BRADWARDINE	1349	GEORGE ABBOT	1611
SIMON ISLIP	1349	WILLIAM LAUD	1633
SIMON LANGHAM	1366	WILLIAM JUXON	1660
WILLIAM WHITTLESEY	1368	GILBERT SHELDON	1663
SIMON SUDBURY	1375	WILLIAM SANCRIFT	1678
WILLIAM COURtenay	1381	JOHN TILLOTSON	1691
THOMAS ARUNDEL	1397	THOMAS TENISON	1695
ROGER WALDEN (intruded)	1398	WILLIAM WAKE	1716
THOMAS ARUNDEL (restored)	1399	JOHN POTTER	1737
HENRY CHICHELEY	1414	THOMAS HERRING	1747
JOHN STAFFORD	1443	MATTHEW HUTTON	1757
JOHN KEMP	1452	THOMAS SECKER	1758
THOMAS BOURCHIER	1454	FREDERICK CORNWALLIS	1768
JOHN MORTON	1486	JOHN MOORE	1783
H E N R Y D E N E (DENNY)	1501	CHAS. MANNERS SUTTON	1805
WILLIAM WARHAM	1503	WILLIAM HOWLEY	1828
THOMAS CRANMER	1533	JOHN BIRD SUMNER	1848
REGINALD POLE	1556	CHAS. THOS. LONGLEY	1862
MATTHEW PARKER	1559	ARCH. CAMPBELL TAIT	1868
EDMUND GRINDAL	1576	EDW. WHITE BENSON	1883
		FREDERICK TEMPLE	1897
		RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON	1903

THE DEANS AND PRIORS

DEANS (order and dates uncertain)

CUBA	c. 798	ALFRIC
BEORNHEARD	c. 805	KENSYN
HEAHFRITH	c. 813	MAURICE
CEOLNOTH	820	AELFWYN	930
AEGELWYN	830	ALSINE	935
EADMUND	c. 871	AELFWYN II	951

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	A.D.		A.D.
ATHELSINE		EGLERIC	1020
AEGELNOTH	984	GODERIC	1058

PRIORS

HENRY	1080	ROGER DE ST. EL-	
ERNULPH	1096	PHEGE	1258
CONRAD	1114	ADAM DE CHILLEN-	
GOSFRID	1126	DEN	1264
ELMER	1128	THOMAS RINGMERE .	1274
JEREMY	1137	HENRY DE EASTRY .	1285
WALTER DURDENS .	1143	RICHARD OXINDEN .	1331
WALTER PARVUS .	1149	ROBERT HATHBRAND	1338
WYBERT	1153	RICHARD GILLING-	
ODO	1167	HAM	1370
BENEDICT	1175	STEPHEN MONGE-	
HARLEWINE	1177	HAM	1376
ALANUS	1179	JOHN FYNCH . . .	1377
HONORIUS	1186	THOMAS CHILLENDEN	1391
ROGER NORRIS .	1189	JOHN WODENSBURGH	1411
OSBERN DE BRISTOW	1190	WILLIAM MOLASH .	1428
GEOFFRY	1191	JOHN SALISBURY .	1438
WALTER III	<i>circa</i> 1213	JOHN ELHAM . . .	1446
JOHN DE SITTING-		THOMAS GOLDSTON I	1449
BOURNE	1222	JOHN OXNEY . . .	1468
JOHN DE CHATHAM .	1232	WILLIAM PETHAM .	1471
ROGER DE LEE . . .	1234	WILLIAM SELLYNGE .	1472
NICHOLAS DE SAND-		THOMAS GOLDSTON II	1495
WICH	1244	THOMAS GOLDWELL .	1517

DEANS (new foundation)

NICHOLAS WOTTON .	1542	THOMAS TURNER . .	1643
THOMAS GODWIN .	1567	JOHN TILLOTSON . .	1672
RICHARD ROGERS .	1584	JOHN SHARP . . .	1689
THOMAS NEVIL . .	1597	GEORGE HOOPER . .	1691
CHARLES FOTHERBY .	1615	GEORGE STANHOPE .	1704
JOHN BOYS	1619	ELIAS SYDALL . . .	1728
ISAAC BARGRAVE .	1625	JOHN LYNCH . . .	1734
GEORGE AGLIONBY .	1642	WILLIAM FRIEND . .	1760

	A.D.		A.D.
JOHN POTTER . . .	1766	THOMAS POWYS . . .	1797
HON. BROWNLAW		GERRARD ANDREWES	1809
NORTH	1770	HON. HUGH PERCY.	1825
JOHN MOORE . . .	1771	HON. RICHARD BAGOT	1827
HON. JAMES CORN-		WILLIAM ROWE	
WALLIS	1775	LYALL	1845
GEORGE HORNE . .	1781	HENRY ALFORD . .	1857
WILLIAM BULLER .	1790	ROBERT PAYNE SMITH	1871
FOLLIOTT HERBERT		FREDERICK WILLIAM	
WALKER CORNE-		FARRAR . . .	1895
WALL	1793	HENRY WACE . . .	1903

HISTORICAL NOTES

It will be remembered that St. Augustine found on his arrival here the remains of an earlier Christian religion which, driven backward by the Saxon invasion, was still in existence in the remoter parts of Cornwall and Wales and with which he came into regrettable conflict at the famous Oak in Gloucestershire. Exactly when and by whom this earlier Christianity was introduced it is difficult to say. The common story of the mythical King Lucius is not admitted by historians and the same applies to such as St. James and Joseph of Arimathea for whom there is no evidence whatever that they were the introducers of Christianity to England. Tertullian states that the parts of Britain, inaccessible to the Romans, were subdued to Christ in the second century and it is clear that the new religion came in by way of Ireland and the Church in Gaul. That the latter must have had a large hand in the conversion seems very probable, and the more so when it is remembered that Luidhard, Queen Bertha's chaplain, was

himself a retired Gallican bishop. However this may have been, the writer's object here is to take the more important among the long line of archbishops and, by means of a few remarks upon each, to show something of the history of the See which was so indissolubly connected with the welfare of the nation. Running all through the various actions and diplomacies, the schemes and contrivings, can be traced the age-long struggle between the King and the Papacy for supremacy in England. Fortunes varied according to the strength of the antagonists of the moment and the pliability of the Primates, with the weakness of King John, or Henry VI, and the patriotism of Stephen Langton or the discretion of Chicheley, until in the day of the Tudors came the final rupture and emancipation from the See of St. Peter. The connexion of the Primates with their Cathedral was in many ways astonishingly slight, though probably to be accounted for by the fact that, holding as they did high secular positions, they were more often in attendance upon the king, and therefore tended to pass more of their time at Lambeth than Canterbury. Not only so but matters did not always go smoothly twixt them and the Priory, and it not infrequently happened that the archbishop was far from being a welcome visitor, even in his own Cathedral.

St. Augustine. It should be noted that the majority of his followers were probably not ordained and this may perhaps account for the head of the monastery being afterwards called a dean rather than a prior. His reception by the broad-minded

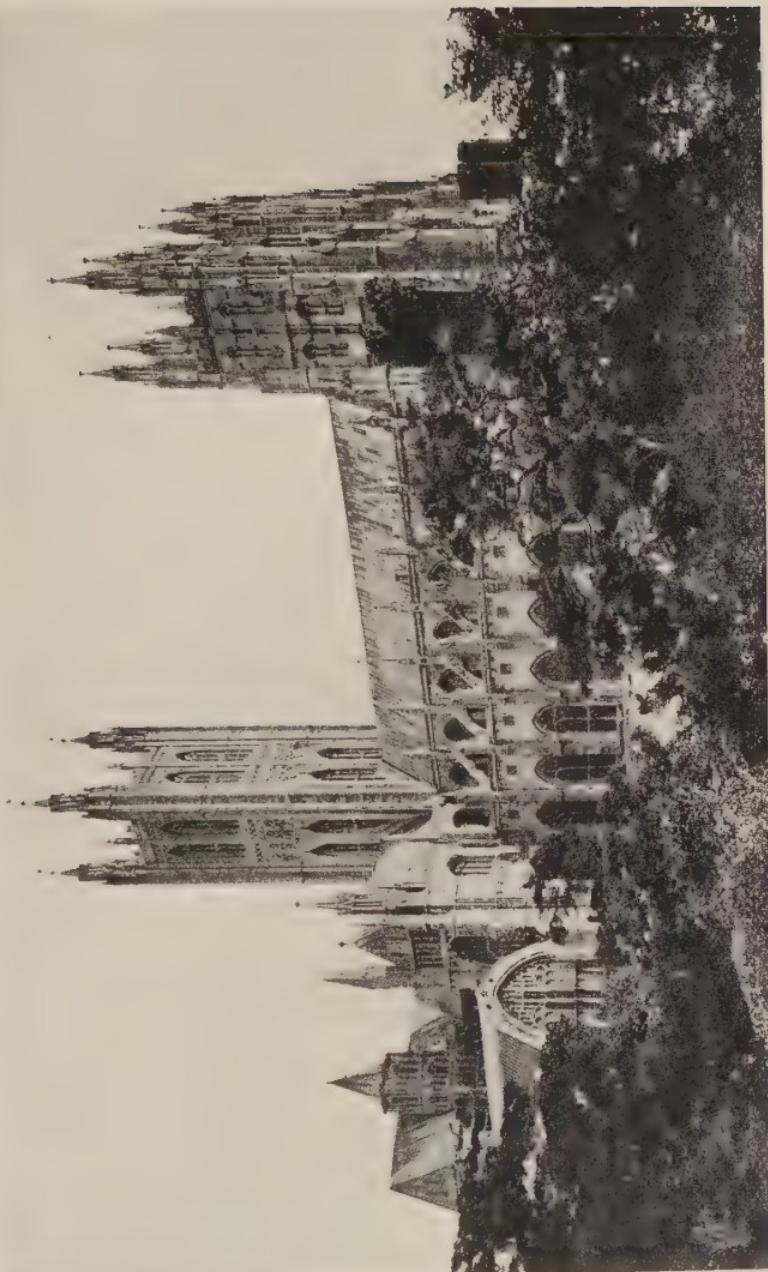
Ethelbert, King of Kent, is well known. "Very fair are the words you have uttered and the promises you make. . . . I am by no means prepared to assent to proposals which imply the renunciation of customs to which, with the whole English race, I have hitherto adhered. But you have come from far. . . . and I clearly perceive that your sole wish and only object is to communicate to us what you believe to be good and true. You shall not be molested. . . . We will make provision for your maintenance and we do not prohibit you from uniting to your society any persons whom you may persuade to embrace your faith." To few missionaries probably has it been granted to be met with such gracious words, and it is not surprising that the success of the newcomers was immediate and far-reaching. In his relations, however, with the old Celtic Church after his elevation to the episcopacy, Augustine showed that lack of tact which is so important an endowment for those in authority and which was so often apparent among his successors. Pope Gregory was under no illusion as to the character of his deputy and repeatedly warned him against that dangerous arrogance of spirit which is often the result of success in life and promotion to responsibility with those of a weak character. That England owes Augustine much must be patent to all, and, while not ignorant of his faults, due gratitude must be given to one who laid so good a foundation.

Although the boundaries of the See were not greatly enlarged, Augustine's immediate successors continued the work and were ultimately laid to rest

[*Photochrom Co.*

VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST

Photograph



in the Abbey of St. Augustine where their actual tombs may be seen to-day. Missionaries were sent farther afield, such as Paulinus to the north and Mellitus to the east, but no really lasting impression seems to have been made because no church building or settled form of organization was left behind. Relapse into heathenism or otherwise depended too much upon the character of the local monarch. The old Celtic Church was engaged in converting the north through St. Columba, who had come to Lindisfarne from Iona ; but the divergence of opinion between it and the Italian mission, so disastrously intensified by Augustine's haughty spirit, remained long unaltered. Gradually, however, the desire for centralization was gaining ground both in ecclesiastical and secular affairs ; and the way towards harmony in the former was paved by the Saxon Archbishop Frithona, or Deusdedit, to whose wisdom and ability the subsequent success of Theodore was partly due. The former's famous Synod of Whitby in 664, wherein the long drawn out struggle concerning the date on which Easter should be held was finally determined in favour of the Roman custom, was a beginning towards that unity felt to be so desirable if Christianity was to make good its position in these islands. It is interesting in this connexion to remember that the Celts, in deriving their religion from the Church of Gaul, which itself had been largely converted by missionaries Eastern rather than Roman, had naturally adopted the Eastern customs in many small points.

Theodore of Tarsus, upon whom fell the mantle of Deusdedit in 668, was strangely enough himself an Eastern churchman, and one than whom the Pope could not have chosen a better for the struggling Church in Britain. A man, not only of learning but of considerable administrative and organizing ability, he saw at once that the work already begun required consolidating. The country had been divided up into enormous dioceses which, in the existing state, or indeed absence, of communications, could not be effectually supervised by their bishops. Only too often the Sees were vacant, so disorganized and undisciplined had become the Church. At once Theodore proceeded to sub-divide these unwieldly dioceses so that the bishops might have greater control and the people taught obedience to an ecclesiastical authority which would now be to them something more than a mere name. In 673 Theodore convened a synod which has generally been considered to be the forerunner of all parliaments and assemblies representing a united Church and a united Realm. The foundation of the parochial system has also often been attributed to him, but, although he prepared the way to a certain extent, it cannot be said that he actually introduced it. He saw indeed the disadvantages of the method of sending out missionaries from a central station who made their tour and returned, leaving nothing behind them to continue their teaching and prevent their converts from lapsing. Learning and scholarship he introduced and monasteries were used as educational centres, so that, as Bede said of

Theodore's work, "Happier times than these never were since the English came into Britain; for their kings were brave men and good Christians and . . . the minds of men were bent upon the joys of the Heavenly Kingdom which had just been revealed to them, and every one who desired instruction in the Sacred Scriptures had masters at hand to instruct him." In fact, as Dr. Hook has said, "this great man converted what had been a missionary station into an independent established Church." That the country did not now consider itself as in any way bound to recognize the power of Rome, except in matters of ceremonial and custom was made very clear at the time of the quarrel between Archbishop Theodore and Wilfrid, Bishop of York. When the latter was deposed from his bishopric and appealed to Rome successfully, he was nevertheless not permitted to return to York, and the interference of the Pope, who had never been so invoked before, was rejected by a royal council of nobles and clergy with the assent of the Archbishop.

St. Dunstan, the worker with brain and hand, who next claims attention, was, during his long primacy, the chief motive power behind the throne. Under his influence the kingdom was efficiently administered both as regards the dispensation of justice, the reform of the coinage, and the protection of the country from the Danes. A great administrator, a fluent preacher, a just judge, and a theological writer of no mean order, St. Dunstan stands out as one of the most notable men whom the English Church produced before

the Conquest. His strength of character gave an added importance and prestige to the office he held while he increased the power of the monastery at Canterbury by the accession of lands which he procured for it and by incorporating some of the lesser monasteries therewith.

Lanfranc, a worthy and indeed greater successor, increased still further the power and influence of the primacy. In previous chapters it has been shown what he did for the fabric of the Cathedral, the reconstitution of the monastery, and the advancement of learning. As a strong imperialist he endeavoured to keep Church and State in harmony, for it must be remembered that the country's rulers were of sterner mould and in a stronger position than those of Saxon times. On this account Lanfranc found himself often resisting the increasing influence of the Papacy. As a corollary to this he came to an agreement with the Conqueror whereby the bishops were made vassals of the Crown in respect of their temporalities, the king was to decide which Pope should be recognized, the clergy were not allowed to leave the country without the royal permission, the Church was to pass no laws nor canons unless approved by the king. Clearly all of it anti-Papal in design. The Primate, however, went to the Continent for one alteration, namely the separation of the spiritual from the temporal courts, and to what this undesirable system led will be seen only too well in Becket's day.

Anselm, his successor, a man renowned for his piety and of a simpler and more sympathetic

nature, was a far greater scholar and theologian than Lanfranc but much the latter's inferior as a man of the world. Anselm by his very talents should have remained a monk and, had he had his way, would have done so; but, to his dismay, a greatness was thrust upon him for which he was quite unfitted. In his time the immorality of the Church, due to the anarchy of the reign of William Rufus and to the See of Canterbury being kept vacant for so many years, was notorious, but Anselm does not seem to have been able to remedy matters. His relations with the king were marked by unreasonableness and want of tact, due partly to the fact that, whereas Lanfranc had been a strong national party man, Anselm leaned towards the Papacy. As mentioned above, it had been agreed that no Pope was to be recognized except by consent of the king, but Anselm at once put himself in the wrong by going counter to the king and acknowledging Urban as Pope. He objected unnecessarily to his investiture by the king of the ring and pastoral staff on becoming archbishop, although this was an old-established custom in England and even on the Continent. Anselm made the mistake of confusing his spiritual and temporal positions by forgetting that, as the king's vassal, he was bound by the rules agreed to by his predecessor, and by seeing in every demand of the king an encroachment upon his ecclesiastical position and through him upon the rights of Rome. In his case meekness, if combined with a certain obstinacy, saved him from the worst troubles, and matters were eventually compromised to the

advantage of the king. A little later, with opponents of a different calibre, this exaltation of foreign claims at the expense of national independence was to lead to terrible disaster. A brilliant scholar with an exhaustive knowledge of the Scriptures and early writers, Anselm was eminently fitted for a monkish life of learning, but for the rough and tumble of the public life of the first of the king's vassals his simple uprightness of heart was totally unfitted.

Theobald. Yet another of the Church's able administrators, he was able to increase his power as being the one stable element to be found during the terrible reign of King Stephen. He was especially strong on the side of canonical law which he may be said to have introduced by means of the famous jurist Vacarius, and took especial pains to improve the procedure of the ecclesiastical courts. During his time the monasteries were endeavouring to free themselves from the control of the bishops and this tendency Theobald set himself to counteract because, as will be seen later on under Archbishop Baldwin, this movement was not really to the benefit of the monastic system. In this connexion he came into collision with his own house at Canterbury where, owing to the troublous times and an excessive hospitality, the finances of the convent had become seriously embarrassed. The archbishop was called upon to take over the reins; and finding that their luxury was not confined to the entertainment of visitors only but was lavished also upon the monks themselves, he instituted so severe a régime

of economy that the monks rebelled on the ground that they were being starved. This, however, together with their appeal to Rome, did not deter him from carrying out his reforms with a strong hand and setting both the monastery and its finances in order once again. Archbishop Theobald had a good eye for character and among his own following was numbered Thomas Becket, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and destined to be later on his successor in the primacy.

Thomas Becket, not Thomas à Becket as he is often called, was born of Norman parents living in London, and early acquired a knowledge of business by living with a merchant relative for several years. Although at first the Church made no appeal to him, he afterwards became a deacon, probably because he saw that in that direction lay the way to preferment. At the same time it need not be inferred that therefore his enthusiasm was in any way lukewarm. Whatever else he may have been Becket gives the impression of always having been fervently loyal to the master for whom he was working at the moment, and to this Archbishop Theobald bore witness. So much so indeed that he introduced Becket to the king who saw at once that he was likely to be a valuable man and sent him to study law at Bologna. While still a deacon Becket became Archdeacon of Canterbury, Provost of Beverley, and received the appointment to various other preferments, all of which he held at the same time as the custom then was. The result being that when in 1155 he became Chancellor he was already a rich man

In his new office he at once made his mark by the ability he displayed, gaining the favour and close friendship of the king and being entrusted with many weighty affairs of State. Partly perhaps from the love of ostentation and partly because he felt it to be due to his high office, he kept an almost princely household, surrounded by a large retinue. He dispensed a lavish hospitality and yet it is always said that he kept a pure life even in the midst of the loose and unbridled society of the Court. During all this time as an ardent partisan of the king he was none too friendly to the Church and although he was not ashamed as a pluralist to receive his emoluments he nevertheless continually supported his master's claims to subject the clergy to the latter's supremacy. That Becket made other enemies at this time is well known, for so strong a character was certain to, and in his case certainly did, inspire very strong feelings, whether of affection or dislike, in those with whom he came in contact. With Becket there were no half-measures. On the death of Theobald in 1161, the king offered the vacant archbishopric to Becket who was for some time very loth to accept it. Pressed by the king and the Papal Legate Becket at length consented, but at the same time warned the king that it would mean the break up of their friendship. From this time his point of view, though not his character, was completely changed. True to his nature, his new mistress, the Church, claimed and gained his whole-hearted devotion and energies, just as before they had been at the full disposal of his old master the king. The clash

between these two strong men, representatives of the struggle between the temporal and spiritual powers then already begun in Europe, became therefore inevitable.

It has already been pointed out that, under William the Conqueror and Lanfranc, the secular and ecclesiastical courts had been separated, but that any question between King and Church, with two such men in command, could always be settled amicably between them. It has been shown that the trouble began with Anselm and Henry I; not so much perhaps in this case from encroachment by the temporal upon the spiritual, as by the withdrawal of the spiritual from its duties to the temporal power. The driving force behind the resulting quarrel about investiture was nevertheless the same, namely, the fight for domination between the English nation and the Papacy. So now the struggle was to break out afresh between two antagonists, evenly matched in courage and ability, in hastiness of temper and in strength of will. The immediate cause was the question of "criminous clerks," i.e. clergy or those claiming the "benefit of clergy," who were guilty of serious crimes. That the Church, especially as regards the lower ranks among the clergy, was in a serious state of indiscipline and corruption is neither to be denied nor is it surprising. The hideous anarchy of Stephen's reign was calculated to demoralize any body of men, as indeed Henry II had found when dealing with his lawless barons and their 1,100 illegal castles. But whereas it had been possible for the king to suppress the latter

and their retainers in the ordinary way, he found it by no means so easy in the case of the clergy. These claimed by their privilege to be tried by the ecclesiastical not the civil courts and, as the former could neither pass a death sentence nor inflict corporal punishment, it meant that a clerk might be guilty of the most outrageous crimes and yet receive no greater punishment than a fine or the infliction of a mild penance. A system so subversive of all law and order was quite impossible from the royal point of view, and in order to remedy this state of things the famous Constitutions of Clarendon were drawn up. Briefly stated, the more important points were as follows :—

- (1) Disputed advowsons to be tried by king's court.
- (2) Churches in the king's fee not to be given in perpetuity without his consent.
- (3) Criminous clerks if found guilty by ecclesiastical court to be handed over to the secular courts.
- (4) No one to leave the kingdom without permission of the king (to prevent appeals to Rome).
- (5) No tenant in chief or servant of the king to be excommunicated without the king's consent.
- (6) Appeals to be made from the archdeacon through the archbishop to the king.
- (7) Disputes about property between cleric or lay to be tried before twelve men or in the ecclesiastical court according as the claim is that it is a lay fee or eleemosynary, i.e. by way of a charitable nature.
- (8) Revenues of vacant sees to go to the king. The new bishop to be recommended by king and

to do homage to king as liege lord, saving his orders.

(9) Chattels of those in forfeiture to the king belong to him and are not to be detained by the Church.

(10) Sons of rustics not to be ordained without consent of the lord on whose lands they are known to have been born.

At first Becket and the bishops opposed but ultimately, urged by the Pope and his Legate, they verbally promised to agree to the Constitutions. Becket, conscience stricken, later obtained from the Pope absolution from his promise, and the king, in revenge, at the council of Northampton commenced what can only be called an unworthy persecution of the archbishop. On one or two points Becket unwisely put himself in the wrong and arrayed in consequence all the bishops against him. The result was the archbishop's exile in France with excommunication of his enemies right and left and threats against the king. In the end, after many negotiations, a hollow truce and Becket's return, amid the acclamations of the populace, to England and to his death.

There was, of course, a certain amount to be said on both sides. The king took his stand upon the agreement between his grandfather and Lanfranc, where, as regards all temporal matters, the archbishops and bishops did fealty to the king and became "his men" like any secular feudal baron. Where, then, clerks committed crimes against the laity the king not unreasonably argued that in such matters of mere discipline

the clerk should first be deprived of his orders and then handed over to the sheriff to be adequately dealt with by the civil courts. The Constitutions, the more important points of which have been given above, bear their own explanation on their face and show quite clearly the type of difficulty that was continually arising between the two parties. To modern notions the majority of the heads seem fair enough, and to many of them the Pope himself agreed, but (8) and (10) seem equally unreasonable. Over and over again Sees were deliberately kept vacant by the king, to the hurt of the Church, for the sake of the revenues which they brought in and such a clause as the first part of (8) would merely have the effect of regularizing a gross injustice. Again, the position of the rural population in those days was in point of fact little better than that of slaves and their only helper and protector was the Church. It was from them that the ranks of the clergy were recruited, for this was the only avenue open to the lowly born whereby they could, without the assistance of wealth or family influence, attain promotion and make their name in the world.

From Becket's point of view, every clause, whether fair or not, was obviously an encroachment upon the privileges of the Church he was sworn to defend. With a man like Lanfranc, who, although a foreigner, had a vivid sense of the nation's spirit of independence, this "incurable duality" as Dean Milman called it, this *imperium in imperio* of King and Papacy ruling side by side in the same country in matters temporal as well as spiritual,

would have been impossible. No doubt in some way the matter would have been compromised but, with Becket's almost fanatical devotion to the Church and with the spread of the Hildebrandine theory of the world-wide suzerainty of the Pope, there could be little hope of settlement. Again, matters were made worse by the spirit with which the argument was conducted. The king started by being conciliatory and ended by a petty persecution of the archbishop and his relations which brought the quarrel down to a lower plane, while Becket, arrogant and impetuous, ready at a moment's notice to flare out with a sentence of excommunication, did but add fuel to the fire. The latter's language was at all times unreasonably violent and even the learned John of Salisbury, his great friend, frequently took him to task on this point and would urge him "to show no sign of arrogance or want of moderation."

It is often argued that, because the Constitutions are now to be found embodied in our English law, Becket therefore must have been in the wrong, but surely it is absurd to judge the twelfth century by the standards of the twentieth century. Civilization must clearly be a progressive condition and what one generation rejects the following generations with their greater experience very probably accept, but this is not to say that the earlier folk did not act according to their lights. Becket, it is true, brought no "sweet reasonableness" into the quarrel and on many points was mistaken and misguided, but he fought for what he seems honestly to have deemed to be the right

with a courage and tenacity which certainly extorted the admiration of many of his contemporaries. In days when men sat loosely to their convictions and were willing for money or reasons of self advancement to trim their sails according as they thought might be to their advantage, as indeed is often the case even in these superior modern days, it is at least refreshing to find a man prepared to stand up, come what may, for what he thinks, however mistakenly, to be the right. Even his bishops thought it no shame to suggest to their primate that he ought to yield in view of all that the king had done for him when Chancellor, and it was notorious that no appeal to the See of Rome stood any chance of success unless its supporters went with well-lined purses to the Cardinals, aye, and even emptied them into the lap of the occupant of St. Peter's chair himself.

Just as in his lifetime so in his death, and even to this day, Becket has the faculty of arousing the strongest feelings. Modern writers are equally ranged for and against him and few can resist the temptation to go, like the archbishop himself, to extremes. Whether it be with the admiration of Fr. Morris or the scarcely veiled animosity of J. A. Froude, all as a rule find it difficult to hold the balance even in this heart-stirring incident of history, and it has been left to Professor E. A. Freeman in his Historical Essays (First Series, 1872), to provide what, perhaps, is the fairest estimate of this much debated man.

Baldwin. It has already been mentioned that the power of the monastery at Canterbury had

been increased from time to time either by added possessions or increase of privileges. It now fell to the lot of Archbishop Baldwin to quarrel with his monks on account of the high pretensions and extravagant claims which their appetites, whetted with past favours, induced them to put forward. The trouble arose from the archbishop's desire to rear a college for secular students at Hackington. This desire he began to put into effect but the monks of Christ Church, who conceived that their extensive privileges were likely to be infringed by the new foundation, at once protested and appealed to Rome. Their appeal met with success and there was no college at Hackington, but it cost the monks dear, for they were for long besieged by sympathizers with the archbishop and at one time were in danger of starvation.

Hubert Walter who carried on Baldwin's idea started to build the rejected college at Lambeth and again the monks appealed with success to Rome. Against these overbearing pretensions, Bishop Stubbs, in his "Epistolae Cantuarienses" brings a heavy indictment, for he says "the foundations of Hackington and Lambeth may be looked upon as the last attempt to utilize the properties of the monasteries before the Reformation. It failed signally and the need at the moment was satisfied within a few years by the introduction of the mendicant orders who undertook the religious revival of the people. . . . The monastic body had sacrificed the opportunity of doing good work to the triumph of a moment. The great prize of

their ambition fell from their hands. The position henceforth occupied by the monks of Canterbury . . . was void of all political importance. . . ." As the King's Justiciar said bitterly to the monks on failing to induce them to meet the archbishop, " You monks turn your eyes to Rome alone and Rome alone will destroy you." Hubert Walter in other directions was more successful for he was a statesman of high quality and a skilful diplomatist from which perhaps his position as archbishop sometimes suffered. He accompanied King Richard to the Crusades and when the king was captured on the way home, it was Archbishop Hubert who came to England and raised the ransom. By his will he was a munificent benefactor to Christ Church, Canterbury.

Stephen Langton, Hubert's successor, was a man something after the same style, for he made his mark in politics as every one knows by the story of Runnymede and the signing of Magna Carta. In his day the monks of Canterbury suffered their great exile, when, having chosen Stephen Langton against his will, King John drove them all without mercy from the kingdom. Later on, at the Synod of Bury, in 1222, he propounded a series of decrees on the discipline and government of the Church which, by the establishment of "ordered freedom" are "the earliest provincial canons which are still recognized as binding in our ecclesiastical courts." He, too, was yet another among the line of famous scholar archbishops. His writings were numerous and in his own day he was reckoned a theologian of some

importance and to him, it is sometimes said, we owe the division of the Bible more or less into its present chapters. It was during his primacy that the translation of St. Thomas took place.

In this thirteenth century of which Langton saw the beginning, there arose the assertion of real national independence. Up to this time the Church had been the Church of the people as opposed to the king and especially the barons, and, as such, had commanded confidence; but from this time or a little earlier it became clearer that the clergy were coming more and more under the bondage of the Papacy and in danger of carrying the country with them. The humiliating surrender of King John to the Papal Legate brought home to many the realization of whither the way was leading, and from now onwards the struggle was to obtain freedom from the pretensions and encroachments of Rome. Langton himself, though guilty of occasional weaknesses, had nevertheless not hesitated to withstand the Pope in the matter of Peter's Pence. Originally only a portion of this levy used to be remitted to Rome, the remainder being spent for the benefit of the Church and poor at home, but now the entire sum was demanded by the Holy See. It was therefore at Runnymede that the English Constitution first takes shape, and that the union of all parties against aggression, whether from the Sovereign within, or from the Pope without, is firmly cemented.

Late in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the presence of friars as archbishops is worthy of notice, and now a secular priest, Robert

of Winchelsey, followed. An able and devout man, he was generous beyond measure to the poor, especially the mendicant orders. During, and even before his time, the introduction of foreigners into English benefices and the increase of pluralism was becoming more and more prominent. He opposed the demand of Edward I for help in money from the clergy for his Scotch wars, contending that the Pope's command to the clergy to pay no secular taxes, an unwarrantable interference from outside with domestic matters, precluded them from giving aid. His quarrel with the king over these clerical privileges and his ultimate exile gave him a great popularity among the people and although he was never canonized his memory was always held in the greatest veneration.

His immediate successors were either not men of particular note or else as in the case of Archbishop Bradwardine they fell victims to the prevailing scourge of the Black Death. The Prior of Christ Church, Robert Hathbrand, was, during all this period, a man of mark. He was a good administrator and did much building about the monastery, but, apart from this and his piety, which was notable, he was well known at Court. In such favour was he held that the king, Edward III, thought it well to send two of his sons to the prior for their training. Messrs. Woodruff and Danks see very reasonably in the subsequent affection of the Black Prince for the Cathedral a possible proof that he may have been one of those two boys who received their early education here.

In the time of Simon of Sudbury the giving of

benefices to foreigners had now become a positive scandal and the diocese of Canterbury suffered more than most in that respect. As a kind of counterpoise to this it is to be noted that Calais and the adjacent districts were now included in the diocese and received in more than one instance an English clerk! Sudbury's chief claim to remembrance in the diocese is that of builder of the West Gate of the city, which is preserved to this day, and the starter of the rebuilding of the nave of the Cathedral. Not only the West Gate but a large portion of the walls did he build so that he made the city indeed what its old name of Cantwarabyrig implied, viz. the stronghold of the men of Kent.

William Courtenay. The struggle is now beginning with the Lollards and more particularly with Wicliffe, whose main criticism of the Church was directed towards "the flowers of ecclesiastical property," and whose doctrines Courtenay condemned at a Council in London. He was one of those who, while admitting the Pope's authority in many spiritual matters, was nevertheless in other ways not prepared to sacrifice the nation's independence. The Statute of Praemunire, which prevented the Pope from excommunicating bishops because they carried out the findings of the king's courts with regard to contested presentations, titles to benefices and such like, was a serious check to the power of Rome. As the result of other anti-Papal legislation it is said that he was offered a cardinal's hat if he would bring an opposing influence to bear, but he refused the offer.

Thomas Arundel, much more than his predecessor, was engaged in combating the Lollard doctrines, the unfortunate holders of which he visited with grievous persecution. The Papal exactions at this time were very heavy, demands upon the estate of William Courtenay and upon himself being continuous so that, as a local wit suggested in two couplets of doggerel, Rome takes the marcs and drains dry the purses and, that you may save your money boxes for yourself, flee from Popes and Patriarchs.

Henry Chicheley was much employed as an ambassador and diplomatist, and it is to be noted that, whereas he was appointed to the vacant See of St. David's by the Pope while on an embassy to the Holy See, the consent of the king was first duly required and given. At the same time he had been given licence to hold other preferments with his bishopric but his right to do so was contested by the king who was upheld by the Lord Chief Justice who decided against the legality of the Papal licence. Thus the power of the sovereign was now becoming well established as against the encroachments from which the country had so long suffered. Chicheley and the clergy strongly supported the French war with opinion and money, but the archbishop afterwards felt remorse for his share in the matter and the result was his foundation of the College of All Souls at Oxford, where prayers might be offered for the repose of those who were slain in battle. Persecution of the Lollards still continued and all preaching without a licence was forbidden.

During his time the diocese was much neglected by reason of his many other public duties, and also no doubt it was feeling the effects of the many past years of the non-residence and pluralism of its foreign clergy.

Thomas Bourchier, connected through his mother with the royal family, it was rather through this fact than his own merits that he attained to the primacy which he held for thirty-two years. He lived in the troubled time of the Wars of the Roses and although he held the favour of both parties he was unable for very long to keep the peace between them. After the battle of St. Albans in 1455 he and Bishop William of Waynflete drew up the terms of peace and all through the war he continued to work as a conciliator until, for the sake of the country, he threw himself into the arms of the Yorkists. He crowned King Edward IV and his Queen, but what must, perhaps, have given him the greatest satisfaction was the subsequent marrying of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York. In this way he was able to bring about at last the union of the two antagonistic parties whom he had of old endeavoured to unite in peace. To him the Cathedral owed the possession of the profitable manor of Vauxhall until the nineteenth century because, when the prior and convent, in 1472, wished to alienate it on the ground that the income was insufficient to maintain the trusts of the Black Prince's chantry, he refused to allow them to do so.

John Morton. Lancastrian in sympathy he shared the exile of that party. On returning he

seems to have found favour with Henry VII mainly because he had no great originality of his own in politics and was content to carry out the king's policy. It is said that the tradition of his being the author of "Morton's fork" is doubtfully true because it is on record that both he and Bishop Fox endeavoured to restrain as far as might be the king's avarice. He died in 1500 and was buried in the crypt Lady Chapel where it is said by Anthony Wood that the tomb became cracked and the bones gradually disappeared with the exception of the skull which was taken in 1670 by the brother of Archbishop Sheldon. The slab in the crypt to-day is certainly believed to cover an empty space.

William Warham. One of the most interesting records from this primate's day is that of his visitation of the diocese in 1511. From this we gather that the monasteries and nunneries were in no good state of discipline, the former perhaps being rather worse than the latter. Of the parishes it seems that as regards the fabric of the churches the part belonging to the parish was as a rule in a fair state but that the chancels, which were due to be kept up by the owners of the great tithe, were in many cases in bad disrepair. When it is remembered that the archbishop and the greater monasteries had by far the largest number of livings in the diocese in their gift, the neglect of proper repairs and upkeep to the churches in their charge redounds ill to their credit. Much non-residence of clergy is disclosed. Many years before it had been laid down that, where a resident

rector was not established, a perpetual vicar was to be installed—a ruling which would especially affect religious houses—and which in many cases they had not troubled to carry out. Poverty in the furnishing of the churches with what was comely and even necessary is disclosed everywhere, in fact poverty both in spiritual and in temporal matters was the sign that the day for change and for the shaking of the dry bones was nigh at hand. Warham himself was a man of kindly character and considerable learning but had the misfortune to come between the upper and the nether millstones of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey. Nevertheless he proved of a tougher nature than the masterful Tudor had thought, and on the question of the wording of the king's title of supremacy successfully had it amended to a form more favourable from the point of view of the Church. A generous man to others, he gave many valuable gifts including the rectory of Aldington to Erasmus, he himself died poor. On his death-bed he is said to have asked how much money he had and, on being told that he had £30, to have quietly replied "*Sat est viaticum.*" In his day was the great controversy between Canterbury and Glastonbury as to who possessed the bones of St. Dunstan. This Warham settled by opening the saint's tomb in the Cathedral near the High Altar in 1508 in the presence of many witnesses both clerical and lay, and proving conclusively that the bones were here. He then prohibited the abbot from pretending to any further possession of the saint's relics; and,

although the latter had to admit the imposture, he asked the archbishop* to keep the result secret because he feared that, if the west country folk found out the deception, trouble might ensue!

Thomas Cranmer first gained his introduction to the king through a scheme for enabling Henry VIII to obtain a declaration of the illegality of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon. From that time onwards, as soon as he became archbishop, he regularly pronounced the king's various marriages as legal or otherwise as occasion required! He also held the final examination into the so-called visions of Elizabeth Barton, "the Holy Maid of Kent," through countenancing whom Dr. Bocking, Warden of the manors of, and Richard Dering, cellarer to, the monastery of Christ Church lost their lives on the scaffold. The prior and monks who felt that they were under a cloud endeavoured, but to no purpose, to save themselves by a gift of money to the king and the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. This effort made little or no difference to their fate and in 1538 the Shrine of St. Thomas was swept away. Cranmer himself took the lead in abjuring his allegiance to Rome and enjoining upon the clergy to do the same. In 1540 came the Dissolution, remarkable for the ease with which it came about and for the tell-tale indifference of the people to the disappearance of the religious houses. At this time of reconstruction it was proposed that the old school, now become the King's School, Canterbury, should be confined

* Woodruff and Danks

to the sons of gentlemen only. To this the archbishop raised a strong opposition and therefore to him are due the statutes which open the school to all and any who may pass the necessary tests and help, to the number of fifty, those not possessed of the requisite means. Although a latitudinarian and weakly anxious to please those who differed from him, it must be confessed, as Ralph Morice his secretary said, that "Men ought to consider with whom he had to do, specially with such a prince as would not be bridled nor be against said in any of his requests." In the succeeding reigns he fared no better until at the end, amid a series of recantations, he showed a firmness and courage so little to be found in his life that he met his death at the stake with a patient bravery which filled the onlookers with admiration.

Matthew Parker. It is to his wisdom, both in administration and conduct, that the Church in England owes a tremendous debt. It is due to his care that the details of his consecration, upon which the whole question of the succession of the bishops in the Church in England depends, were accurately arranged and afterwards carefully set forth in writing. He was the founder of what has been since known as the Anglican party, i.e. the party which, while insisting upon the essentials of the Catholic religion such as the episcopacy, is nevertheless determined to repudiate the jurisdiction and later doctrines of the Papacy. The standpoint of this party he made clear in his reply to the criticism of the deprived Marian bishops wherein he laid down the position of the Church in

England as it has remained from that day to this. He had a great love of learning and was never so happy as when engaged in supervising as Vice Chancellor his university of Cambridge. To Trinity College he bequeathed an immense number of valuable MSS., about forty-seven of which he had saved from the Cathedral library at Canterbury at the time of the Dissolution. He himself was a prolific writer and is chiefly famous for his "De Antiquitate Ecclesie," and for what is known as the "Bishops' Bible," of the translation of which he had the superintendence and to which he contributed a large share. Records of his visitations of the diocese, especially of that in 1573, show that its state was deplorable. Non-residence was the rule rather than the exception and a number of churches were being served only by readers. This absence meant neglect of the fabrics, and many buildings were unsound and still more were ill furnished with the barest decencies for the service.

John Whitgift, of much the same way of thinking as Parker, found himself attacked by the Romanists on the one hand and the extreme Puritans on the other, so that he had hard work to keep the *via media* which he had set before himself. Like his predecessor he also enriched a Cambridge College at the expense of the Cathedral library with, if anything, a larger number of MSS. than Parker had done.

George Abbot was perhaps the most puritan of any primate since the Reformation. He had imbibed strong Calvinistic doctrines while at

Oxford, and although he upheld the episcopacy as an essential, was nevertheless a strong supporter of the Puritan party. On the death of Archbishop Bancroft, thanks to the advice given by his patron, the Earl of Dunbar, to the king, Abbot, then Bishop of London, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, so that it was said of him "by a strong north wind coming out of Scotland Abbot was blown over the Thames to Lambeth!" In his new position he was active in suppressing Romanist doctrines and even went so far as to extend his attention to similar matters on the Continent in which he induced the king to join. Somewhat narrow-minded and morose, he was nevertheless consistent of purpose and was not afraid to resist any exercise of royal authority which he thought to be unjust. He was a good benefactor to the now sadly depleted Cathedral library, and his name appears as a donor of forty-six volumes.

Such was the religious ferment of those days when everything seemed to be in the melting pot and faction strove against faction, that it is not surprising to find the strong Puritan succeeded, in the person of William Laud, by one of a completely opposite line of thought. In his sermons at Oxford Laud had maintained the necessity of baptism and of retaining the episcopate—in fact the Anglican position as laid down by Parker. Later on he set his views further forth when, as Bishop of St. Davids, he entered into a controversy with one Fisher, a Romanist convert, with such success that even those who disliked him admitted that he had "muzzled the Jesuit and struck the Papist

under the fifth rib." A great stickler for the claims of authority, it was at this point that Laud failed, for, with lamentable want of tact, he made little attempt to conciliate or even to consider objections of conscience of his antagonists before exercising that authority upon which he laid so much stress. His harshness and arbitrary dealing in his diocese drew from the people of Kent a petition to the king praying for the abolition of the hierarchy for reasons which they set out at length. It is no doubt true that no recent primate had done, or perhaps had been able to do, much for his diocese in these troubled times, and as a result, the neglect of Church and services had continued. It was not to be expected that a Calvinist like Abbot would set much store by outward decencies, let alone ritual, in the services ; and therefore the advent of Laud with strict ideas as to how things should be done especially in details of ritual and the will to enforce those ideas was likely to cause discontent. At the same time he forgot that intolerance begets obstinacy, and it has been well said that, "ignoring the example of Andrewes" (Bishop of Ely) "who, without irritating any one, had simply recommended the observance of the religious usages of which he approved, Laud held it incumbent on him to compel observance even by those who disapproved of them."

On becoming archbishop Laud was offered the cardinalate but in his diary he says that he replied to the effect that "Somewhat dwelt within me which would not suffer that till Rome were other than it is." In the opposite direction he objected

to the dismality of the Puritan Sabbath, neither would he condemn such things as stage-plays entirely although he wished that they should be reformed. But on the other hand in respect of his own *via media* he attempted to enforce the most rigid conformity upon all and sundry alike, so that in his hands the Church came to be regarded as an inflictor of "penalties rather than a helper on the path of godliness and purity." With regard to his own Cathedral church the same policy was pursued in the case of the French Huguenots then worshipping in the crypt. Laud did his utmost to induce them to conform but without success. Soon after becoming archbishop he visited the Cathedral where special efforts were made to have things as he would wish. The altar was put at the east end, draped with a rich velvet covering, and, behind, was hung an elaborate piece of embroidery called the "Glory Cloth" bearing the name Jehovah within a rayonnated circle. Candlesticks and other ornaments were provided, together with a Bible and Prayer Book. The statutes were revised in a few respects but no very great alterations were made, although in later days advantage was taken of them by the Puritan party to found accusations upon certain details. In 1644 came the execution upon Tower Hill of this primate who, by endeavouring to force consciences distraught by the uncertainties of the religion of those troubled days, rendered the position of the Anglican or true Church in England party unpopular on all sides. In times of excitement and wild passions a moderate party

must needs require the most careful guidance lest it be overwhelmed by the extremes on either side. Such was the condition of the Anglican party exposed to the assaults at once of Rome and Geneva, so that Laud wrote to Wentworth saying, somewhat pathetically, "I have a very hard task, and God, I beseech Him, make me good corn for I am between two great factions, very like corn between two millstones."

During the time of the Commonwealth the archbishop's palace adjoining the Cathedral was despoiled and allowed to fall into ruin and with it went yet one more link in the chain, at all times none too strong, which connected the primate with his Cathedral church and Chapter.

William Juxon, who succeeded to the primacy at the Restoration, is well known as the private chaplain to King Charles I, on whom he attended up to the moment of the latter's execution. Blessed with the tact and discretion which Laud had unfortunately lacked, he made few enemies, although he was of the same way of thinking as his predecessor. Like most of the archbishops his immediate relations with Canterbury were neither frequent nor important. That he was generous to the foundation is evidenced by the heavily carved doors of the Christ Church Gate which bear his arms:—or, a cross gules between four negroes' heads couped wreathed about proper—and by a very handsome gift of £500 for the rebuilding of the room, formerly the Prior's Chapel, on the east of the Lavatory Tower, in order that it might be turned into a library. This is now called

the Bibliotheca Howleiana because it houses the collection of early Bibles, liturgical books, and pamphlets formed by that primate with additions by his chaplain, Archdeacon Harrison.

William Sancroft. A scholar of exemplary life who won deserved popularity among all people by his gentle character and conscientious spirit. Exiled in Puritan times, he returned at the Restoration to help revise the Liturgy and, as Dean of St. Paul's, to have a hand in the rebuilding of that Cathedral, writing to Wren, "What we are to do next is the present deliberation in which you are so absolutely and indispensably necessary to us that we can do nothing, resolve on nothing, without you." With the accession of James II Sancroft's difficulties began. He found himself unable to approve of the king's surreptitious attempts to revive the influence and power of Rome and refused to sit either on the Royal Commission for the punishment of ecclesiastical offences or to promulgate the Declaration of Liberty of Conscience. Both these efforts of the king, apparently on their face of a harmless if not tolerant character, were in reality designed, the former to prevent the increasing anti-Papal teaching, the latter to bring about the freedom of the Roman Catholics. For his refusal Sancroft shared imprisonment with six other bishops and their subsequent triumphal acquittal. On the other hand, with the advent of William of Orange he would have nothing to do nor would he take the oath of allegiance to a king *de facto* during the lifetime of a king whom he considered as such *de jure*. In company

therefore with five other bishops and about four hundred clergy he was as a "Non-Juror" suspended and deprived. To him also the Cathedral library owes large benefactions in the form of books.

John Tillotson, the first married primate since Matthew Parker and one of the few archbishops to have previously been Dean of Canterbury, he was generally thought to have been one of the finest preachers the Church has had. As he himself said, "Good preaching and good living will gain upon people." A man of pleasant temper, generous and unassuming, he was tolerant of the extreme parties although he laboured unsuccessfully to unite the Church with the Protestant bodies. With him it may be said that the era of the more or less colourless theology of the eighteenth century began. It has been well pointed out that, with the still vivid remembrance of the severity of the Puritan "saints" and the more recent dangers of the intrigues of Rome, the Church in England probably felt that she must set herself still more to seek that middle course initiated by Matthew Parker. Such a course of reasonableness and safety, however, brings its own disadvantages to any human institution or individual, and stagnation and lethargy almost inevitably result. As Messrs. Overton and Relton say, "a prosaic element was introduced into English theology in the eighteenth century" and the "delicacy" of the previous century is wholly wanting. An aversion to enthusiasm was the distinguishing feature and nowhere is it displayed more clearly than by the occupiers of the chair of Augustine. "That dull

man" or "an amiable and worthy prelate" typify the general character, and, if life is to be found, it is among the lesser lights of the Church's dignitaries and laymen, such as Bishop Butler, William Law, Bishop Horsley, Samuel Johnson, William Wilberforce, and others who, by their writings or their works, prove that the light had not entirely died out. As a strange contrast to this indifference in home affairs it is worthy of note that this century shows a wonderful foreign missionary enterprise and attempts to enter into relations with other communions. Archbishop Wake, said to have been the last primate to go in his state barge from Lambeth to the Houses of Parliament, entered into prolonged negotiations with a view to union with the Gallican churches who, while remaining in the Roman communion, were nevertheless disposed to reject the supreme power of the Pope. The Non-Jurors, with little leaning to Italy, went further afield and turned their eyes toward the Greek Church. To Archbishop Tenison must be ascribed a large share in the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which came into being simultaneously with the eighteenth century as a kind of off-shoot from the S.P.C.K., founded four years previously. Later in the century came the recognition of the Scottish Episcopal Church and the sending out of bishops to America and missionaries to the Colonies, until, with the French Revolution in the closing years, the Church at home began that moving which has so completely altered her life at the present time. The Methodism of Wesley leading on to the Evangelical Revival

and subsequent Oxford movement came not unnaturally from others than the primates who, perhaps by virtue of their position, were constrained to try and hold the balance even between the extremes. A good example of this strictly impartial character can be found in Archbishop Tait who, while giving them his support, did something by his considerable statesmanship to modify the heavy blows suffered by the Church in his day from the Divorce Bill of 1857, the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, and the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland.

Edward White Benson, who died in 1896, was the first archbishop to be buried in his Cathedral since the Reformation. An organizer and administrator of the highest rank, he gave proof of his capacity in the making of Wellington College, the revival of the Chancellor's School at Lincoln for theological students, and the establishment of the new See of Truro. No matter where he found himself there was always educational or constructive work to be set on foot. He was the first prelate to institute a canon missioner for a diocese, and was responsible for the formation in 1886 of the House of Laymen by which the advice and help of the laity might be obtained. At the time of the suggestion of the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, Archbishop Benson went to Rhyl and in his speech there made the famous remark, "I come from the steps of the chair of Augustine to tell you that, by the benediction of God, we will not quietly see you disinherited." That what the primate fought so hard against in

those days has now come to pass may seem a matter for regret, but even his brave spirit would have been amazed and rejoiced to see the gallant answer to its troubles that the Welsh Church has made. Yet another instance of his strength of character is to be found in his conduct of, and dealing with, the ritual case of the saintly Bishop King of Lincoln. His judgment, which dealt with the matter entirely on its own merits with no relation to any previous decisions of the Privy Council, and which treated the Book of Common Prayer from an historical point of view, was remarkable for its knowledge and clarity. The verdict went for the most part in favour of the bishop and in the words of Dean Church it was "the most courageous thing that has come from Lambeth for the last two hundred years." Archbishop Benson's interest in foreign missions was as intense as in that of his home work. The bishopric of Jerusalem, the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians, and the Mission to Corea, one and all owe their beginnings to him and are but a few examples of his many activities.

Frederick Temple. He was the first archbishop since the middle of the seventeenth century to have a palace, for, during the Commonwealth, that of Matthew Parker's rebuilding was destroyed and never re-erected, until Archbishop Temple resolved that once again the primate should live in a palace near his Cathedral and incorporated all the remaining ruins in the building which we see to-day at the north-west corner of the church.

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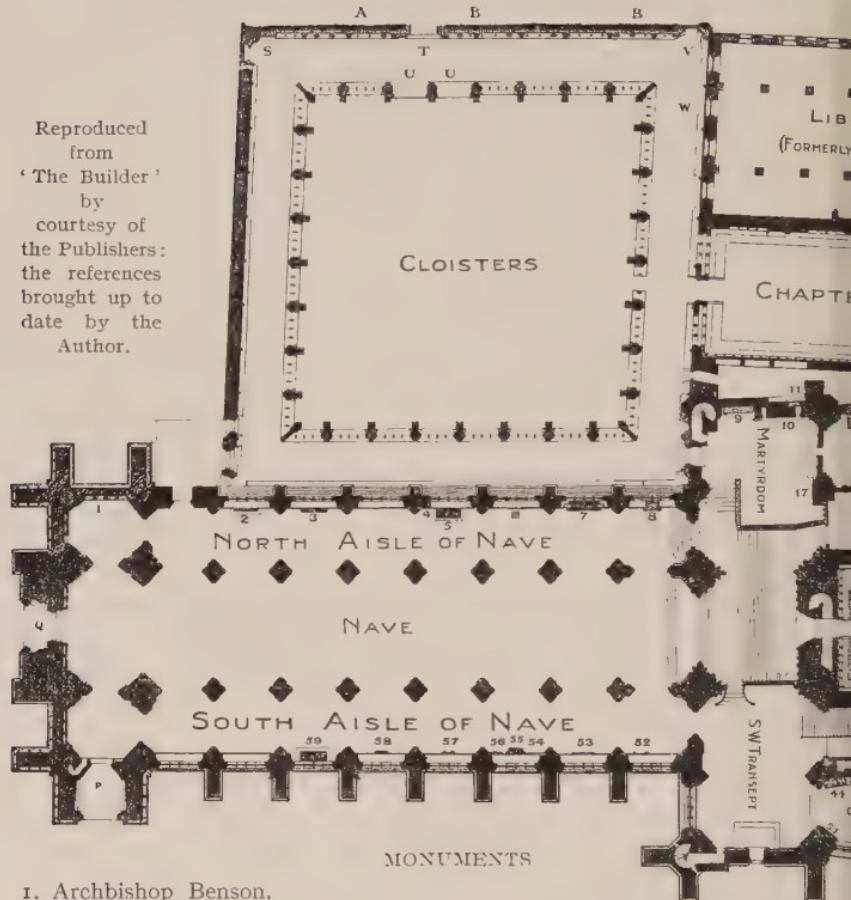
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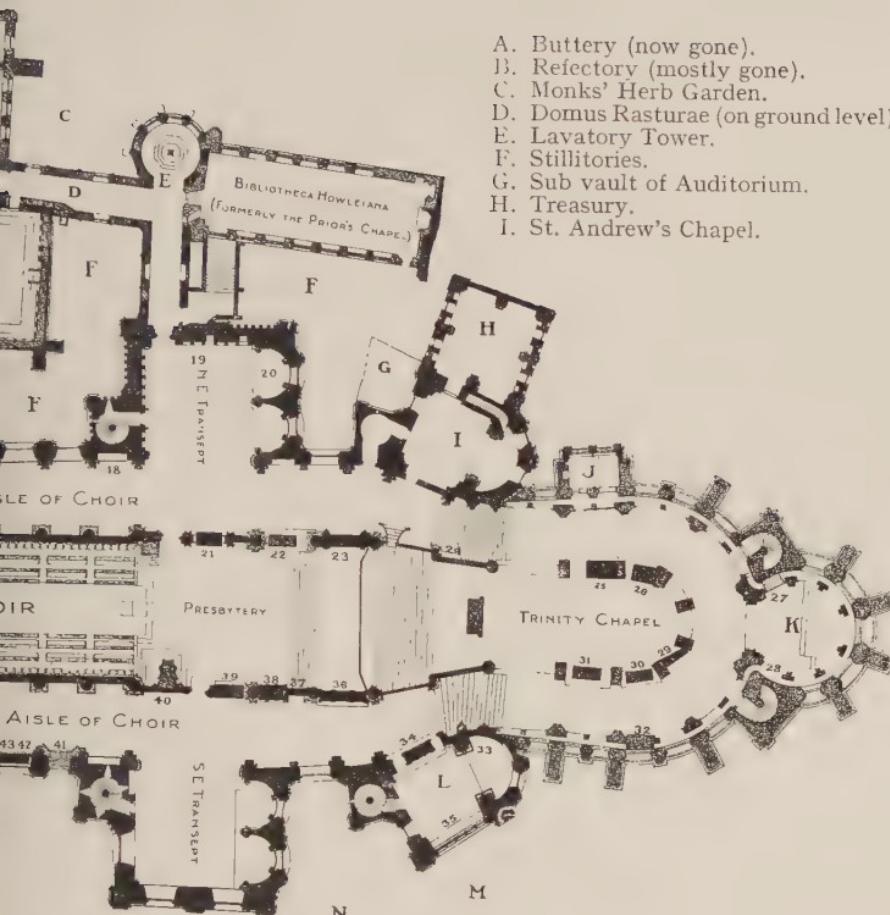
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1. Archbishop Benson.
2. Dean Lyall's cenotaph.
3. 50th Regiment.
4. Orlando Gibbons.
5. Archbishop Sumner's cenotaph.
6. 31st Regiment.
7. Sir John Boys.
8. Sir James Hales.
9. Archbishop Peckham.
10. Archbishop Warham.
11. Warham's Chantry Chapel.
12. Dean Rogers.
13. Dean Bargrave.
14. Dean Neville.
15. Dean Boys.
16. Dean Fotherby.
17. Archdeacon Chapman and site of Martyrdom.
18. Wall painting (St. Eustace).
19. Archbishop Tait's cenotaph.
20. Queen Ediva.
21. Archbishop Chicheley.

22. Archbishop Howley's cenotaph.
23. Archbishop Bourchier.
24. Entrance to Sacrist's Room ('Wexhouse').
25. Henry IV.
26. Dean Wotton.
27. Cardinal Pole.
28. Archbishop Temple's cenotaph.
29. Cardinal Coligny.
30. Archbishop Courtenay.
31. The Black Prince.
32. Archbishop Hubert Walter.
33. Wall painting (St. Paul).
34. Archbishop Mepham.
35. Archbishop Bradwardine.
36. Archbishop Sudbury.
37. St. Dunstan (diaper work).
38. Archbishop Stratford.
39. Archbishop Kemp.
40. Archbishop's Throne.

CATHEDRAL IN 1922



Prior Eastry (probably).
 Archbishop Walter Reynolds (?).
 Archbishop Winchelsey (?).
 Lt.-Col. Prude.
 Sir Thomas Thornhurst.
 Lady Thornhurst.
 Lady Dorothy Thornhurst.
 Archbishop Langton.
 Vice Admiral Sir George Rooke.
 Margaret Holland and husbands.
 Lt.-Colonel Godfrey.
 Lt.-Colonel Mackeson.
 Berkeley.
 Lt.-Col. Stuart.
 Sympson.
 6th Lancers.
 33rd Light Infantry.
 Sir G. Gipps.
 Bishop Broughton.

- A. Buttery (now gone).
- B. Refectory (mostly gone).
- C. Monks' Herb Garden.
- D. Domus Rasturæ (on ground level).
- E. Lavatory Tower.
- F. Stillitories.
- G. Sub vault of Auditorium.
- H. Treasury.
- I. St. Andrew's Chapel.

- J. King Henry IV's Chapel.
- K. Becket's Crown or the Corona.
- L. St. Anselm's Chapel.
- M. Entrance Gate to Monks' Cemetery (now moved).
- N. Cistern in lay cemetery (now gone).
- O. St. Michael's Chapel.
- P. South Porch.
- Q. West Entrance.
- R. Deans' Chapel.

CLOISTERS

- S. Entrance to Archbishop's Palace.
- T. Entrance to Refectory.
- U. Monks' Washing Places.
- V. Passage way to Kitchen under Refectory.
- W. Old Entrance to Dormitory.

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* denotes an illustration in text

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CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

THE following very brief description of the main features in connexion with the Cathedral is meant for the benefit of those whose visit is but for a day or for so short a time that a careful study of the building and its history is impossible. If, however, they see what is here set down and afterwards read at their leisure the longer account which follows, such visitors should be able to form a very fair idea of what is one of the most interesting Cathedrals in England. The references are to the pages in the body of the book, where fuller details will be found.

Many a long day has now gone by since the happening of the well-known story of St. Gregory the Great, who, when passing through the slave market at Rome, saw there some fair haired Yorkshire boys. On being told that they were Angli, that is Angles or English folk, he replied in his serio-comic way that they should rather be called Angeli or angels and that he would make it his business to save their countrymen '*De irâ*', i.e. from the wrath of God, *Deira* being in his time the name for that part of England now roughly covered by the county of York. Although the good man himself was never able to carry out his intention in person, he still remembered those little slaves, and so to England in 597 he sent his deputy, Augustine, to bring these heathen to a knowledge of God. It must not be forgotten that Christianity had long before been introduced from Ireland during the Roman occupation, but the later invasions of heathen Saxons had well-nigh obliterated this earlier Celtic church.

Augustine, however, found a tolerant king with a Christian wife in the county of Kent, who gave him the royal palace with what little remained from Roman times of an ancient church, and it is upon the site of this earlier building that to-day the present Cathedral stands. Some people would like to think the west wall of the crypt to be the last fragments of Augustine's church (p. 86).

The Cathedral, as we now see it, has had various changes, as follows :—

1070 Augustine's church pulled down and entirely rebuilt by Lanfranc (p. 9 and plan).

- 1096-1107 Prior Ernulph rebuilt the whole of Lanfranc's eastern half, together with the crypt beneath (p. 15 and plan).
- 1174 After the Great Fire, William of Sens preserved where possible, but largely rebuilt, Ernulph's work, except the crypt (p. 19).
- 1180-4 William the Englishman completed the French William's work by adding the Trinity Chapel and Becket's Crown, with crypts beneath (p. 21).
- 1377 Lanfranc's nave pulled down and the present one erected (p. 104).
- 1433-94 Bell Harry Tower (all that part seen from outside) (p. 28).
- 1832 Lanfranc's original north-west tower pulled down and the present copy of the fifteenth century south-west tower substituted (p. 109).

For plan of Cathedral as it is to-day, see at end of book.

The Monastic Buildings on the north side of the Cathedral were built mainly by Lanfranc for his Benedictine monks, and in part survive with many alterations by later builders.

EXTERIOR

Points of especial interest to note on entering the Precincts through the Christ Church Gate (1517):—

SOUTH-WEST PORCH. With carving and ironwork (p. 26).

CENTRAL TOWER. Called "Bell Harry" Tower (fifteenth century) (p. 28), further east appears the

NORMAN TOWER (c. 1130). With exquisite ornamentation (p. 31) and just beyond is seen

ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL. With window (1336) of more or less star-shaped design to which, with other local examples, has been given the name of "Kent tracery" (p. 32). At the north-east corner of the Cathedral is the

MONASTIC INFIRMARY. With pillars reddened by fire (p. 172), and through the archway westward the

INFIRMARY CLOISTERS. Note the twisted pillars in pairs (p. 175).

Passing to right through the "Dark Entry" into the

GREEN COURT. On the left, beyond the railings, the

LAVATORY TOWER, or Monks' Washing Place, with conical roof (p. 176). Across the Green Court in the north-west corner is the beautiful

NORMAN STAIRCASE (c. 1170), which must not be missed (p. 181).

All the buildings near this Staircase are now given up to the King's School, which claims to have been founded by St. Augustine, and so to be the oldest Public School in England. The present name comes from its refounding by King Henry VIII after the Dissolution.

INTERIOR

NAVE (p. 104). 80 ft. high, a fine specimen of Early Perpendicular work. Compare the very similar nave of Winchester Cathedral of about the same date.

- (1) Glass in great west window lowest row of figures end of twelfth century, upper part end of fourteenth century.
- (2) Straining arches under central tower, 1495 (p. 106).

STEPS UP TO QUIRE (p. 54). These are one of the great features of the Cathedral—a rare instance in England of a Quire raised to admit of the crypt underneath; compare Winchester; a not uncommon arrangement in Continental churches. Note later on the further steps up to the Trinity Chapel.

QUIRE (p. 35). Entrance free.

- (a) Western screen (c. 1450) (p. 41).
- (b) Massive columns with carved capitals of French appearance and mixture of round and pointed arches above. The latter clearly showing transition from round or Norman to pointed or Gothic.
- (c) Contraction of quire towards eastern end due to retention of some of Ernulph's earlier work (p. 17).
- (d) Stone screen round (1304), the work of Prior Eastry (p. 36).
- (e) On north side rich tomb of Archbishop Chicheley (1425) (p. 78), kept in order by All Souls College, Oxford, of which he was the Founder.
- (f) Opposite (e) on south side the double canopied tomb of Archbishop Kemp (1454), followed eastwards by
- (g) Tomb of Archbishop Stratford (1452) (p. 50), and
- (h) Tomb of Archbishop Simon of Sudbury (p. 50), beheaded in 1381 by the mob on Tower Hill, and
- (i) Exquisite diaper work on wall of screen, the remains of the Shrine of St. Dunstan (p. 37).

The remainder of the Cathedral has to be seen with a guide unless a "wandering" order has been obtained. This can be had for a small extra fee on application to the Senior Vesturer. The guide will start in the

SOUTH-WEST TRANSEPT. Note early glass in south window (p. 112).

ST. MICHAEL'S OR THE WARRIOR'S CHAPEL.

- (a) Tomb of Stephen Langton (1228) in curious position in east wall (p. 43).
- (b) Tomb of Margaret Holland (1439) with her two husbands, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and Thomas Duke of Clarence.

QUIRE AISLES. Lower part of walls with small arcading are remains of Ernulph's work (p. 17).

ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL (p. 50). Ernulph's work (c. 1100).

- (a) Stone screen with good carving (c. 1333) and tomb of Archbishop Mepham beneath.
- (b) Wrought Sussex iron gates about same date.

Further Steps up to Trinity Chapel. The top level is 25 ft. above the nave.

TRINITY CHAPEL, where was the Shrine of St. Thomas (p. 55), now gone.

- (a) In the vaulting a gilded crescent said to have come from the East.
- (b) Tomb of Black Prince (p. 60) (d. 1376), with his funeral achievements hanging above. Adjoining is the
- (c) Tomb of Archbishop William Courtenay (d. 1396) in alabaster.
- (d) Tomb of Henry IV and his queen, Joan of Navarre, under a canopy (d. 1413 and 1437 respectively).

BECKET'S CROWN. 1184 (p. 66), at the extreme east end.

- (a) The Chair of St. Augustine (p. 67), in which all the archbishops are enthroned. Probably thirteenth century.
- (b) Tomb of Archbishop Fredk. Temple (d. 1902).

THE GLASS (p. 114) in the windows of the Trinity Chapel and in the central light of Becket's Crown (c. 1215) is one of the glories of the Cathedral. The former represents miracles attributed to St. Thomas, the latter Scriptural subjects. Down the steps on the north side is

ST. ANDREW'S CHAPEL (p. 74) (c. 1100), with the TREASURY (c. 1150) beyond.

NORTH QUIRE AISLE (p. 79). Two windows with wonderful glass (c. 1200), descending to the

NORTH-WEST TRANSEPT, called the "Martyrdom."

- (a) Glass in the Great Window (1477) (p. 120).
- (b) Tombs of Archbishops Peckham and Warham beneath (p. 82).
- (c) Site of murder of Becket at foot of Archdeacon Chapman's monument. Turn west through door into the

CLOISTERS (p. 165).

- (a) Vaulted roofs (early fifteenth century).
- (b) Door in north-west corner, through which Becket came when pursued by his murderers.
- (c) Chapter House on eastern side. Returning to the North-West Transept, pass eastwards into the

CRYPT (1100) (p. 85), the finest in England.

- (a) Carved capitals (c. 1180).
- (b) Lady Chapel with stone screens (c. 1370).
- (c) Chapel on south side, now the foreign Protestant Church (p. 89), with a boss in the vaulting said to represent Joan, the wife of the Black Prince.
- (d) Beautiful portion at the extreme eastern end.
- (e) When returning, stand by the doorway of the foreigners' chapel and, looking back towards (d), note the remains of a painting on one of the pillars, which commonly goes by the name of "Becket's Ghost."

The historical associations of the Cathedral are in many ways of national interest, although the connexion is somewhat indirect, lying, as it does, through the person and office of the archbishops rather than with the locality itself. A glance down the list of Primates will reveal many a well-known name in England's history—Theodore the organizer, Dunstan the statesman, Lanfranc the administrator, Becket the most romantic name of all, Langton the patriot, Sudbury the builder, Chicheley the diplomatist. Cranmer the translator, Parker the scholar and far-seeing tactician, with many others who have left their mark on the life of the nation or the Church.

In quite early days the Archbishop lived in closer touch with his Cathedral, but the importance of his secular as well as ecclesiastical position in the State required constant attendance upon the king, and this, together with much unfortunate ill

feeling which existed between the Priory and its spiritual overlord, led to the substitution of Lambeth for Canterbury as the archbishop's chief place of abode, with Addington for a summer residence. In recent times, however, the rebuilding of the palace has brought the Primate back again to his Cathedral and so caused the latter to take a more direct share at any rate in the life of the Church.

Thus it is to two outstanding episodes only that the Cathedral really owes its interest outside its own intrinsic appeal. Firstly, it is the birthplace of England's Christianity, where thirteen hundred and more years ago the worship of God was introduced by St. Augustine, and has since unceasingly continued. With such a record and all that lies behind it, Canterbury has become the centre and focus to which the whole of the English Church and its branches instinctively turn. Secondly, the extraordinary career and romantic death of Thomas Becket have furnished in all ages by far the most enthralling interest for the Cathedral. The rise of a man of comparatively humble parentage to the highest civil position in the realm, from thence at a bound to a similar place in the Church, his brilliant and forceful personality, his contest with the strongest king of his time in Christendom, and finally his murder in the Cathedral itself—all this grips the imagination as strongly as the most vivid tale of fiction. The Church was quick to turn events to her profit, even to forcing the proud king to do penance at the Martyr's tomb, and it was therefore as a place of pilgrimage *par excellence* that Canterbury welcomed visitors of all nations and ranks to her world-famous shrine, as Chaucer has so quaintly set before us in his Canterbury Tales. Wealth and influence came by virtue of this connexion with the Saint, and, although but a Prior, the head of this monastery soon became a man of considerable importance. This was marked by his privilege of wearing a mitre and of carrying a pastoral staff, a privilege granted more often to the higher rank of Abbot. Furthermore, as Canterbury was the see of the archbishop the first peer of the realm, the Prior and Convent, during a vacancy in the primacy, were custodians of the Spiritualities of the See and entitled to act, and did act, as such.

To-day the Shrine with much else is gone, but the glamour of the past remains, and still the associations of the building together with its architecture and its glass draw their admiring crowds of pilgrims in numbers no fewer than of yore.



